

THE ART BULLETIN

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY

VOL. XIV NO. 1

MARCH 1932

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PUBLISHED BY
THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA



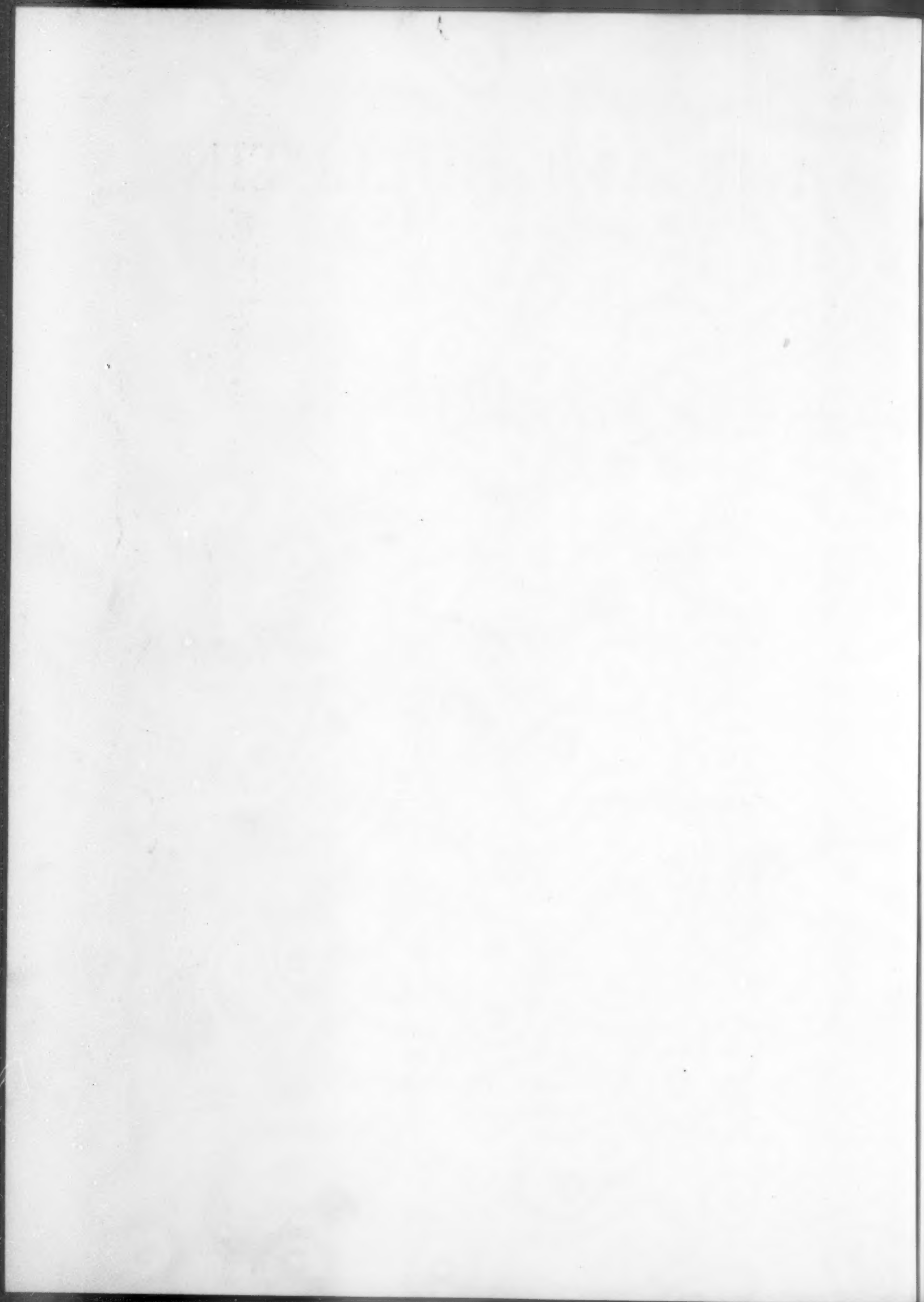
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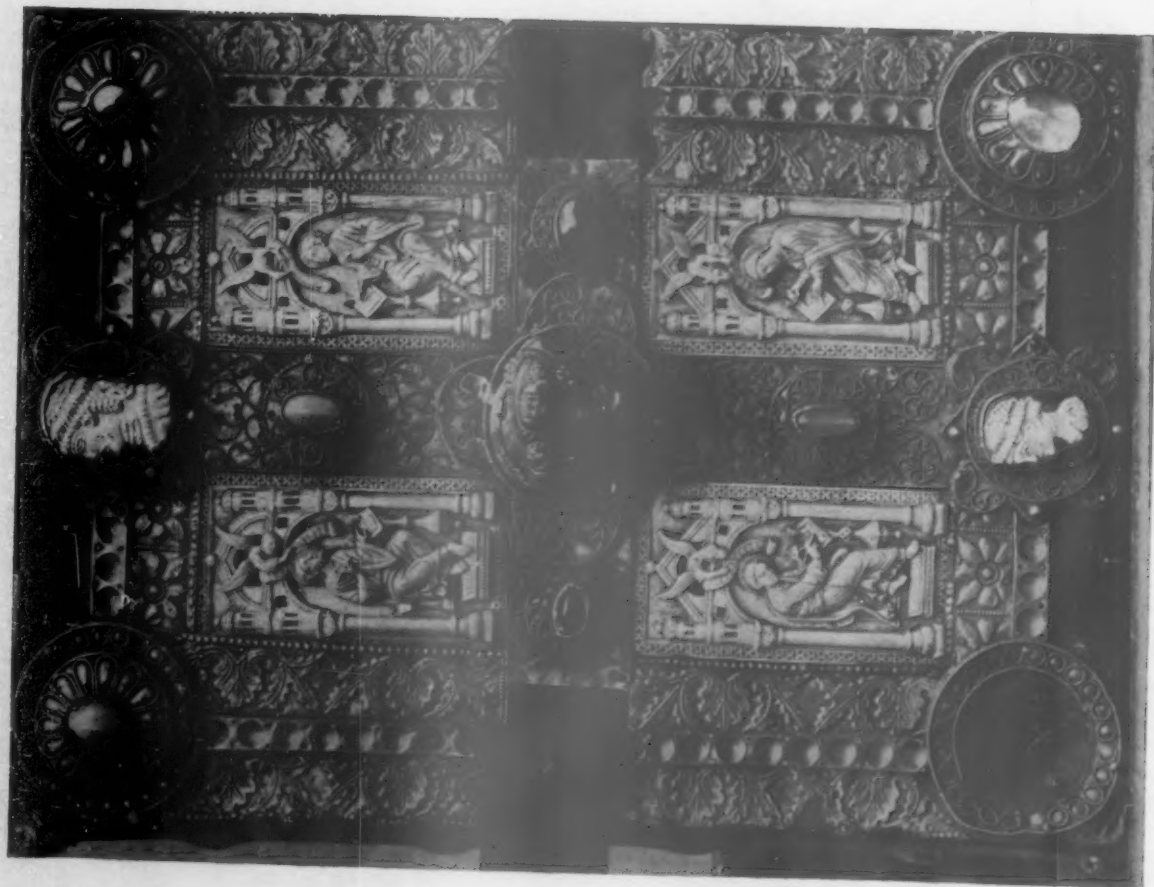


FIG. 1—Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: *Evangelium of St. Lebuinus*



FIG. 2—Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: *Evangelistarium of St. Bernulfus*

ANTIQUE AND MEDIAEVAL GEMS ON BOOKCOVERS AT UTRECHT*

By G. A. S. SNIJDER

FROM the earliest times the Christian Church strove to possess and to hand down the Gospels in a form the outward appearance of which harmonized with their sublime contents.¹ Even before the Christian creed became state religion, carefully written and illuminated book rolls or codices were probably used among the faithful and certainly formed part of the church library. With the official recognition of Christianity a stream of new, partly wealthy proselytes, who hitherto had found their religion in the old, pagan civilization, poured into the Church, and soon a change may be noticed. Well might Hieronymus gibe at those who preferred their old pagan codices, gorgeously written on purple vellum with golden or silver characters, above the simple Christian pamphlets he published himself, but we should go far astray if we should infer from his words that Christian books were simple in appearance. Chrysostomus, blaming the rich, who owned copies of the Holy Scripture (without reading it!) as sumptuous and costly as any pagan *édition de luxe*, clearly proves that even with the laymen magnificent manuscripts of the Gospels were no exception. They were to be found in the churches as well, and soon these works of art were numbered among the most welcome presents with which an emperor or a prominent individual could honor the Church. In the beginning the codices, either simply bound or in sheets, were probably kept in more or less ornate boxes, but soon the Gospels also appear bound in a costly binding, decorated with gold, ivory, and gems. Nor is this to be wondered at. The Holy Scripture takes the highest place in the Church. At the Councils it was often exhibited, to inspire the assembly and to exhort it to judge righteously of the questions in hand. At the Ephesian Council the Bible was even placed on a holy throne in the middle of the assembly and seems to have been considered as the incarnation of Christ himself, a witness and leader of the discussions. The custom of our law courts to take the oath on the Bible is founded on the same conception and still continues the "eternal" law of Justinian, by which he decreed that the Book should be available in all court rooms. The part which falls to the Gospels from times immemorial during the consecration of a bishop in the Roman Catholic Church, where they equally symbolize Christ and the Holy Ghost; their importance in the administration

*This study has been made possible by the kindness of the late Monsignore van de Wetering, Archbishop of Utrecht, who gave me free access to these objects and the permission to publish them, and of Mr. J. E. Brom, Keeper of the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht. Professors Zahn, Rodenwaldt, Vogelsang, Ligtenberg, and Nock have given me many helpful suggestions. My colleague Prof. Swaen kindly undertook the laborious task of going through my manuscript. Comm. Settimio

Bocconi, Professors v. Mercklin, Neeb, Dr. Zeiss and Mr. W. J. A. Visser provided me with some of the photographs. To each and all of them I offer my sincere thanks.

1. On these questions see S. Beissel, *Gesch. d. Evangelienbücher*; *Erg.-Hefte Stimmen Maria-Laach*, 92-93, 1906; Otte, *Kunstarchaeologie*, I, pp. 130 f.; Loubier, *Der Bucheinband* (1926), pp. 23 f., with good reproductions and further references. None of these authors goes into the character and meaning of the gems used for decoration.

of baptism, the esteem in which they were held in the churches and their veneration by the laity, which placed the Gospels almost above a relic—all this involved that they were continually foremost in the liturgy, and so it goes without saying that the need was felt of an appropriate covering of the Holy Scripture, a binding in harmony with its contents.

It seems certain that, along with more simple bindings, mainly made up of ivory consular diptychs, there must have been already in the fourth century pompous and luxurious bindings as well. The "*sacri libri deaurati et purpurati et gemmarum varietate distincti*," mentioned by Hieronymus,² recall the splendor of gold and variegated gems of the codices, as carried by the ecclesiastical dignitaries in the train of Justinian on the mosaics of S. Vitale at Ravenna. We find there, at least *in effigie*, the chalices, the plates, the crosses of which, as we are told by the *Liber Pontificalis*,³ emperors and noblemen, from Constantine onward, used to make presents to churches. Their description, giving the weight of metal and the number of stones, suffices to evoke before our eyes a dazzling vision of semi-Oriental, half barbarous splendor and magnificence. Byzantium leads in this field and has produced a quantity of infinitely refined work, though what is preserved mainly belongs to a later date. But the Occident also continued this tradition. It cannot be denied that the imitations of Byzantine bookbindings, originating in western Europe, make a coarser impression and show a cruder color scheme. By these qualities they correspond, in fact, with the less polished taste of their semi-barbarous makers, whose arts and crafts emphasize the glitter, the sharp contrast, and also the expensiveness of the material used. We feel how highly the costliness of works of art was appreciated when reading through the long list of benefactions which Charlemagne conferred upon the Church of S. Riquier (Centula).⁴ Here, too, we find: "*Codex eburneus auro, argento et gemmis optime paratus*," and among the treasures of the library in the first place, "*évangélium auro scriptum cum tabulis argenteis, auro et lapidibus preciosis mirifice ornatum*." Costliness as a first condition for beauty is apparent in many a tale of the early Middle Ages. I only quote the life of St. Eligius,⁵ who started his career by making two saddles of gold and precious stones for Lotharius, King of the Franks, and in his later life wrought many a precious work of art for Dagobert "of gold and gems," to point out how much stress is laid on the expensiveness of the raw material and the sumptuousness of the finished work.

If we bear this in mind it will be easier for us to understand the somewhat crowded and overladen magnificence of bookbindings like those in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht. They are, it is true, of later date, but they continue the tradition of late antique ornamental covers, a tradition which was never entirely interrupted just as Rome never lost its traditional, central position in the West. The popes handed down the organization of the Roman Empire, many of its traditions, and a good deal of the Roman pride. Leo the Great is the first to assume the venerable title of the Roman emperors, *Pontifex Maximus*, and the Christian Romans under his rule were as "chosen" a race as their heathen predecessors had been. According to his conception, Petrus, as another Romulus, had founded again a better and more beautiful Rome, and so the Eternal City, full of remnants

2. In *Zachariam* 1, c. 8, v. 6.

3. For extracts from the *Liber Pontificalis*, see Schlosser, *Quellenbuch z. Kunstgeschichte d. abendländischen Mittelalters* (1896), pp. 59 f.

4. Schlosser, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 f.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 f.

and traditions of the great past, once more became *caput orbis*, the center and standard of the Occident at least.⁶ Even if Gregory the Great tried to sever almost forcibly the ties which linked Rome to the pagan civilization, even if he preached the destruction of pagan Rome, Christian Rome, young and new, never could be false to the soil in which it had taken root so deeply and in its greatest prosperity the ancient splendor happily rose again. This time-honored splendor proved to be hardly less attractive to the raw barbarian kings, than the glamour of the church of Peter was to the pious pilgrims who thronged the roads to Rome and shunned no pains to reach their goal. The little handbooks of Cassiodorus, the numerous encyclopaedias in which others tried again and again to compress the gist of an all-comprehending civilization in a form adequate to simple minds, must be remembered in order to realize that the thread of tradition was never broken, though gradually it changed its character.

Unfortunately, no ornamental bookcovers of Roman times have come down to us, to prove by comparison with the bindings at Utrecht the uninterrupted development of this branch of handicraft. But the Utrecht bindings themselves show us how tradition and innovation are blended or appear independently. The three bindings were exhibited in 1913 at the Nationale Tentoonstelling van oude Kerkelyke Kunst⁷ and published in the memorial publication.⁸ As indicated by the catalogue, they are not in their original condition, but have evidently been renovated, on which occasion the goldsmith used as much of the dilapidated older bindings as possible, and apparently followed generally the style of the older covers.

The so-called Evangelium of St. Lebuinus⁹ is actually a Carolingian manuscript and chronologically might well have belonged to the saint of Deventer. Besides, the fact that it originates from the Church of St. Lebuinus at Deventer agrees with the oral tradition. But the history or the contents of the codex does not concern us; we shall confine ourselves to the cover (Fig. 1). The binding is composed of two oaken boards, joined and partly faced with kidskin. On the front, the sides are fitted with twin strips of gilded silver, decorated with a palmette and rosette pattern and separated by a slightly raised, narrow strip, provided with round hollows at regular intervals. The authors of the catalogue have assumed that originally precious stones were fitted into these hollows, but apart from their being too shallow, there is no trace of fastening to be seen. On the corners are fixed embossed rosettes, adorned with filigree, three of which still hold each a *cabochon*. The central field is taken up by a rich silver-gilt filigree cross. Each arm holds a *cabochon* and ends in a quatrefoil in which cameos were set. Two of these gems, called late Roman in the catalogue, are still preserved. When describing the stones we shall treat more fully of these curious and intriguing works of art. Between the arms of the cross, which as well

6. See Pfeil, *Die fränkische und deutsche Romidee des frühen Mittelalters* (1929), pp. 42 f.; Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke* (1926), pp. 97 f. and *passim*.

7. *Catalogus*, Nos. 308, 309, 310.

8. *De oude Kerkelyke Kunst in Nederland* (den Bosch, 1914), pls. XL, XLI, figs. 66-69; the bindings have been occasionally mentioned and reproduced elsewhere but have never been dealt with extensively. In as far as no new light is shed on the matter, I have therefore not attempted to give a full bibliography. All three codices

still are the property of the R. C. Church council of Deventer and were found in 1859 by Monsignor A. J. Schaepman in the presbytery, where they served as weights in a mangle. Monsignor Schaepman transferred the much neglected books to the Seminary at Rysenburg; later they were placed in the Archiepiscopal Museum at Utrecht.

9. *Catal.*, 8. Beissel, *op. cit.*, p. 320; Molinier, *Hist. génér. d. Arts*, Vol. V, *L'orfèvrerie*, pp. 155 f. Measurements: 35.5 x 25.6 cm.

as the other silverwork dates from the thirteenth century, ivory reliefs representing the four evangelists and dating from the eleventh century have been inserted, while the center of the cross is taken up by a raised quatrefoil on which we perceive, mounted in a crude setting, the boldly cut head of a young Bacchus in chalcedony.¹⁰

Not less heterogeneous and surprising is the binding of the Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus (Fig. 2).¹¹ The front cover, an oak board, has a raised border mounted with a silver-gilt strip, divided into squares, of which each bears a stamped rosette pattern. In the corners engraved silver medallions, showing traces of translucent enamel and representing the symbols of the evangelists, have been nailed on the silver strip. Of these medallions the upper two probably belong to the thirteenth century, the lower, which have been mounted very crudely, date from the fifteenth century. In the middle of the upright sides two other medallions with engraved mascarons, of a somewhat earlier date, have also been mounted on top of the silver strip and between these medallions a rosette of the silver strip has been cut out to provide the setting of an intaglio. In the sunken central panel, lined with gold foil, we find again a beautiful silver-gilt filigree cross with a fine onyx in the middle. Between the arms are mounted four medallions of the finest *email cloisonné* (Byzantine work?)¹² and in the right-hand upper corner a small opal is set. The other corners are empty now. Three arms of the cross are preserved. The lower one holds an agate, the right one a dark piece of glass (!), and on the upper arm is set a splendid portrait head of a Roman lady, cut in chalcedony. As appears from its description, this binding has been restored and renovated at various periods. Most of it probably dates from the twelfth century, but there are many repairs and additions of later times.

Most remarkable as a whole is doubtless the binding of the Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus (Fig. 3),¹³ bishop of Utrecht from 995 to 1009. The connection with the saint in this case is especially evident, although the binding of this manuscript of the eleventh century has suffered a good deal from repairs and innovations at later hands. But more than in any other case we are able to observe that the serviceable material and also the character of the older binding were spared as much as possible. The back (Fig. 4), now covered with a red velvet, possibly of the fifteenth century, is adorned along the sides and in the corners with silverwork in the Romanesque style, and bears in the center an almond-shaped, gilt plaque with the engraved representation of a bishop and the following legend: "*Ornatu lapidum rutilans auroque politum praesulis ansfridi martino munus obivi.*"¹⁴ In fact, the front cover is still a-glitter with gems. In its composition recalling the Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus, the board is mounted with sheets of silver, the sunken panel is occupied by a filigree cross dating from the eleventh century, and the raised border and the compartments between the arms of the cross are literally studded with mounted stones, engraved or simply polished. The corners are taken up again by medallions,

10. Not of onyx, as stated in the catalogue.

11. *Catal.*, 9. Measurements: 31.3 x 22.6 cm.

12. Probably of the tenth century, see Brom, *Gildeboek*, II, pp. 16 f.

13. *Catal.*, 10. Measurements: 33.5 x 26 cm.

14. The inscription seems to indicate that the codex was originally presented by Bishop Ansfridus to the

patron saint of the Cathedral at Utrecht. In support of this view some arguments may be deduced from its contents; see S. Beissel, *Des H. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, p. 30; for a drawing of the inscription see Rientjes, *Gildeboek*, IV (1920/21), p. 179, fig. 30. I have been unable to ascertain how this codex came into the possession of the church of Lebuinus at Deventer; cf. *Bulletin Oudheidk. Bond*, 1911, pp. 148, 153.

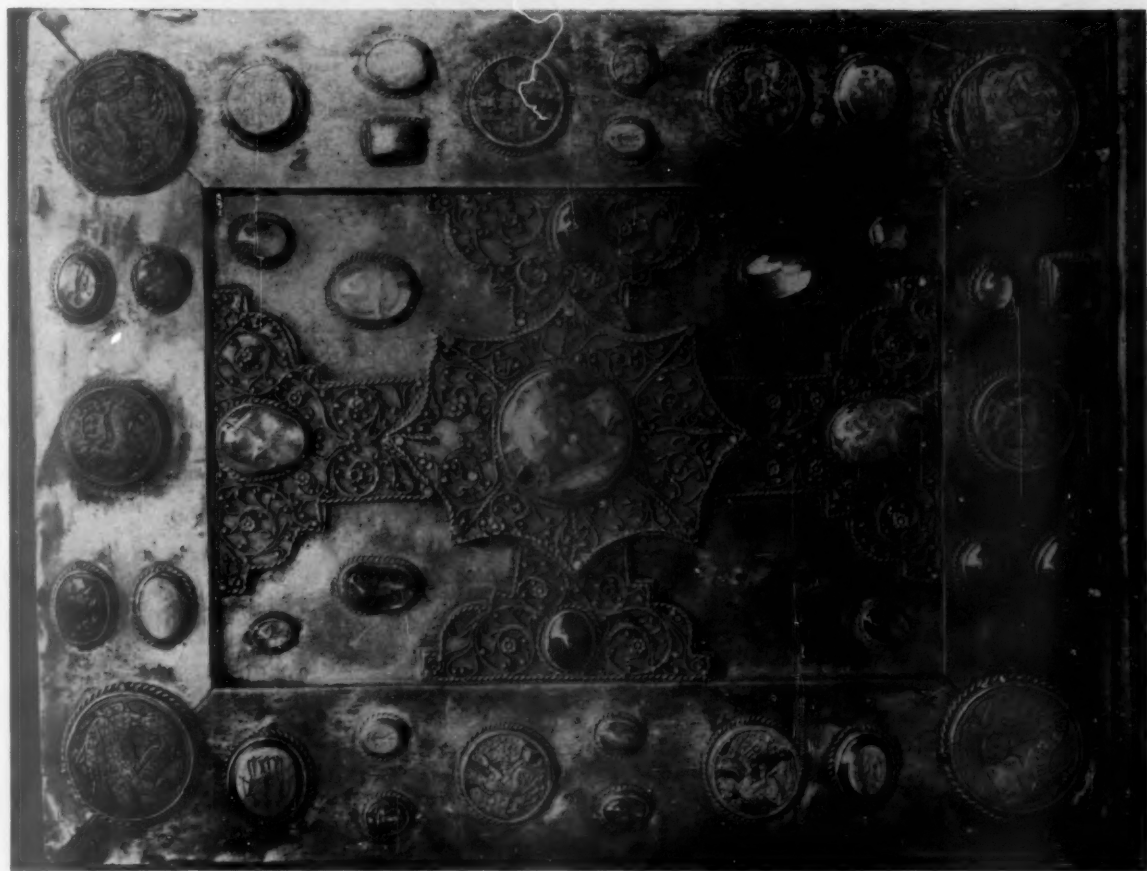


FIG. 3
 Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: *Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus. Front and Back*

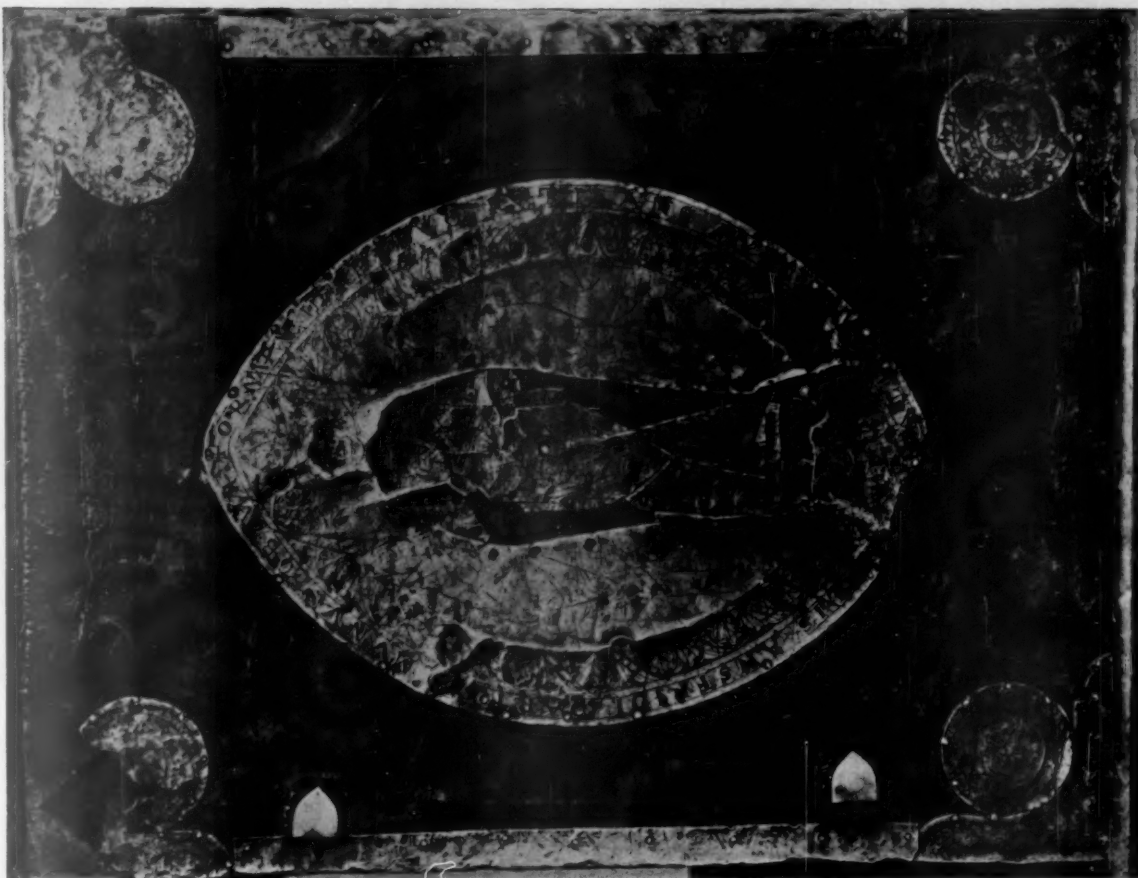


FIG. 4



FIG. 5



FIG. 6

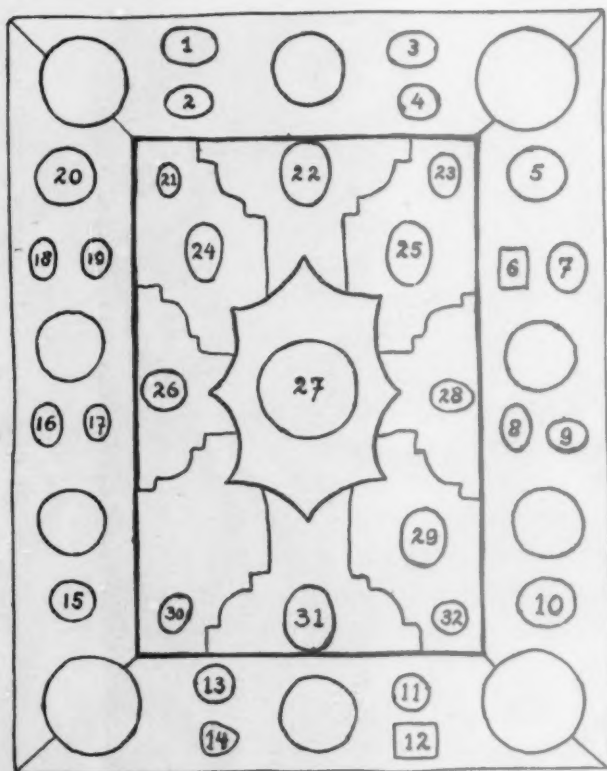


FIG. 7



FIG. 8

Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus. Details; Diagram of Arrangement of Gems

originally enameled, representing the symbols of the evangelists, and on the border smaller medallions have been set between the stones. The fact that these medallions, dating from the fifteenth century, have been arranged between the gems according to a fixed design, proves that the binding in its present state cannot have been made before the fifteenth century. But in this case too the original binding must have been copied.

The catalogue mentions Egyptian, Greek, and Roman intaglios, and one with an Oriental inscription. Apart from the fact that Egyptian stones do not occur here, it will be worth while to look a little more closely at these stones presently. But before we come to this, we shall have to deal with the general character of this system of decoration with precious stones. Describing the other bindings, we have found already that, along with plain stones, occurred little works of art of a typically antique style. Even a superficial survey of the specimens set into the third binding reveals again several antique representations: two merry satyrs, Sol with his whip, and a group of Venus and Cupid! How are we to account for the presence of similar purely, and evidently pagan, representations in the bindings of books intended for Christian and ecclesiastical use? The phenomenon does not stand alone. The inventories of church treasures abound with descriptions of similar bindings.¹⁵ Several others have come down to us. Ecclesiastical vessels, croziers, reliquaries, crosses were adorned in the same way. Suffice it to cite one of the most interesting examples, the enigmatic cross at Brescia, studded all over with mounted stones, engraved and plain, antique and of later date. It all goes to show the enormous liking of the mediaeval people for precious stones, and also for antique, cut gems.

There is no need to insist on the importance and excellence of glyptic in pagan antiquity, particularly in Greek and Roman times. The best among the gem cutters, like Pyrgoteles or Dioscurides, rank hardly below the most famous sculptors or painters, and indeed, to judge by the actual remains that have been saved for us, their fame was amply justified. Add to this that gems, more than any other works of art, enabled the owner admirably to enjoy his palpable and exclusive property. He could handle them freely, he could even have them set into rings and have them always and anywhere under his eyes. And he could allow others to share his joys at liberty, or exclude them from this enjoyment. So a particularly close and personal relation was likely to spring up between the owner and his miniature works of art, and this certainly was one of the reasons why gems were objects much preferred and much sought after by collectors. Besides, they were rare and precious and we can easily understand that the Romans of rank, the emperors foremost—in a time when stamps were unknown and the aesthetic and historical value of coins as yet undiscovered—were loving possessors and passionate collectors of gems. Most of these collections probably were moved from Rome to Byzantium when Constantine transferred his residence there and in his city too, in Constantinople, they were highly valued, more highly, perhaps, as gradually the capacity to produce gems of equal value sank. The decline came slowly. Byzantium in the fourth century still brought forth a number of superior gems and even farther east the Parthians made beautiful work. But it cannot be denied that the desire to use this medium of expression steadily faded and that the technical faculties were sinking too. Whereas in the beginning the craftsmen still were able to produce grand pieces of work like the cameo of Honorius and Mary (398 A. D.),¹⁶ in which

15. S. Beissel, *Evangelienbücher*, I. c., pp. 292 f.

16. R. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 258 f., N. 66.

the natural colors of the stone were enhanced by the application of gilding, later specimens tend to become more and more coarse and simple. Christian subjects soon prevail—or heathen representations are Christianized. We are taught by Byzantine inscriptions in the background of the cameo just mentioned that Emperor Honorius was interpreted as St. Sergius, his empress Mary as St. Bacchus! This adaptation was quite common. The pagans of yesterday still cherished their heathen treasures, and rather than part with them the Christians of to-day changed their meaning or turned their precious gems to a new purpose. We know from literature that the Grand camée de France, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, once surrounded with the portraits of the evangelists, was interpreted as the Triumph of Jacob's Son, Joseph, in Egypt, and carried in state in the processions of the Church.¹⁷

Still, Constantinople not only saved the spoils of ancient glyptic, it also kept what little was left of its technique. In western Europe conditions were far less favorable.

Constantine, when moving his residence from Rome to Constantinople, not only caused the artistocracy of Rome to follow him, but also, by dint of money, persuaded artists and craftsmen to take up their abode in the new capital. Those who stayed in Rome were in future to live in a deserted and impoverished city, a drawback hardly to be overcome by the gem cutter, whose art thrives best in the shadow of a court, fond of splendor and magnificence. So, as soon as the residence had been moved, the quality of the Roman products went down as by magic. Those artists who remained must have been second-rate craftsmen, working for unpretentious people who wanted gems not for their artistic value but for other reasons, still to be dealt with. The barbarian princes, who ruled Rome successfully, were hardly connoisseurs. At any rate there is no trace of a renaissance of glyptic under their patronage. Nevertheless, they were, like their Roman predecessors and their Byzantine contemporaries, great lovers and collectors of antique gems, often using the intaglios as seal stones. Charlemagne used to seal his documents with a stone, showing the effigy of M. Aurelius, then thought to represent Christ, as is proved by the legend of the ring: "*Christe, protege Carolum regem Francorum.*" The seals of other Frankish kings of which impressions have been preserved show the images of Augustus, Diana, Serapis, or Bacchus.¹⁸ Often the mediaeval princes presented the Church with precious stones or gems, thus probably avoiding the accumulation of landed property in mortmain. But thus, as persons die and the Church remains, the ecclesiastical treasures soon became the most important collections of these works of art as well. What wonder if the bishops chose their seal stones too among the gems in their possession? More often they selected stones with a representation more or less appropriate to the purpose, as, e. g., the bishop who sealed with a winged Victory, adding the legend: "*Ecce mitto angelum meum.*" But sometimes it is difficult to bring the representations into harmony with Christian ideas. A Jupiter, taken as Christ, can be understood, but it may well be asked how a nude Venus, holding a looking-glass, could, unto the seventeenth century, be regarded as an effigy of the Virgin;¹⁹ and the deacon of Soissons, who in 1189 sealed a paper with an intaglio representing Leda and the swan, probably did not look too closely at the subject and certainly did not know the fulminating denunciation of this very theme by Clement of

17. Babelon, *La gravure en pierres fines*, pp. 187 f.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 209.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 218 f.; see also Piper, *Mythologie der chr. Kunst*, I, pp. 115 f.

Alexandria.²⁰ At any rate, the admonition of this author, to choose for seal stones those representations which might at least have a symbolical, Christian meaning as well,²¹ hardly produced any effect. Wherever, in the Middle Ages, stones were used for decorative or other purposes, only a small minority bears evidence of Christian symbolism. Among the 226 gems which adorn the reliquary of the Three Kings of Cologne only four or five may be called really Christian.²² Of the 33 gems which alone we can trace of the 824 gems once mounted in the tomb of St. Elizabeth at Marburg, not a single one is Christian.²³ The same applies to the bindings at Utrecht: those stones which are not antique are either plain or bear a secular character. When dealing with the latter we shall have an opportunity to examine more closely the products of mediaeval craftsmen in western Europe.

Before this, however, another question arises. Are we justified in assuming, as has often been done, what Goethe has stated about the use of intaglios in the Middle Ages? In his review of the catalogue of intaglios at Berlin, he gave the following opinion: "*Auch zu einer Zeit, wo es nur auf Pracht und Prunk abgesehen war, wurden sie als Juwel betrachtet und so wurden sie ganz zuletzt, ohne Rücksicht auf die eingegrabene Darstellung, zur Verzierung der heiligen Schreine, womit hochverehrte Reliquien umgeben sind, in Gesellschaft anderer Edelsteine verwendet.*"²⁴ Some facts point in this direction. In the first place, the subject matter of the stones is, as far as I am aware, never mentioned in written tradition. Only their number is stated. Secondly, the way in which engraved and plain stones were used indiscriminately seems to imply that the representation was of no importance. A typical example is provided by the treasure of Guarrazar (Spain), found between 1858 and 1861, and dated, by the legends on the crowns, in the seventh century. With one exception, only plain stones were used. This intaglio, a Byzantine work²⁵ representing the Annunciation, evidently has no special place, but has just been used as a decoration along with the other stones. On the other hand, the use of antique intaglios as seal stones, frequently very aptly chosen or cleverly adapted by means of legends and a daring *interpretatio christiana*, proves that the representations were not simply overlooked. In many cases too, the way in which the stones have been mounted decidedly points in the opposite direction. A valuable fibula found in a Merovingian tomb at Charnay (now in the Musée de S.-Germain-en-Laye) was clearly designed to enclose a late antique, possibly Merovingian cameo of rather coarse make.²⁶ The two bindings at Utrecht, here described for the first time, have the antique gems set in the direction of the cover. The Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus leaves room for some doubt, though the intaglio representing two satyrs has been mounted against all symmetry in order to do justice to the representation.

However this may be, we may safely believe that throughout the Middle Ages, even in the darkest centuries for glyptic, from the sixth to the ninth century, when western Europe hardly produced any engraved stones at all, the interest in gems was very much alive. In the thirteenth century a new factor greatly promoted the understanding of this matter. The crusade of 1204 saw the fall of Constantinople. Earlier crusaders and pilgrims, of

20. Cohort. ad gentes, § 18; cf. Rev. Arch., 1918, II, p. 219.

21. Paedag., III, 11.

22. Piper, Mythol., pp. 60 f.

23. Creuzer, Zur Gemmenkunde. Antike geschn. Steine vom Grabmahl der H. Elisabeth (1834).

24. As quoted by Piper, op. cit., p. 59.

25. La glyptique à l'époque mérovingienne et carolingienne (Comptes-rendus Ac. Inscr. et B.-Lettres, 1895), extract, p. 9.

26. Babelon, op. cit., p. 8, and Hist. de la gravure sur gemmes, pp. 8 f., pl. I, 10.

course, had occasionally brought home precious stones and gems from the East, but all this was nothing compared with the booty which fell to the pious adventurers. In one single day they captured what generations of princes and nobles had collected and treasured. Even if we did not possess the statements of eyewitnesses, the sudden growth of church treasures in western Europe would suffice to make us realize the connection with this historical event. The collections now became too vast to be easily surveyed, and at this time the endless inventories of churches and monasteries were drawn up. Of course, a more exact description of every piece became necessary and in giving the pagan representations a Christian meaning, the Western monks followed only the Byzantine method of Christianization: all horsemen became St. George; Hercules and the Nemean lion, Daniel in the lion's den; Perseus and Medusa, David and Goliath; Venus became Mary, and Serapis, Zeus, and even M. Aurelius became Christ, whereas Caracalla was promoted to the rank of St. Peter.²⁷

Still, the delight alone, taken in the splendor of the matter, the appreciation perhaps of the cleverness of the artist, hardly suffice to explain this Christianization²⁸ and, above all, the fervent interest taken in precious stones generally. For this another reason may be adduced: the superstitious belief in the power of precious stones. This superstition was widely spread in pagan antiquity too, though we learn but little about it in Pliny's Book XXXVII, otherwise a source of information on stones, for us as well as for the Middle Ages. At times he mentions the magical or medical powers attributed to various stones, but he seems to have been more of a connoisseur²⁹ and a sceptic than an adept. But among the people the most abstruse books and booklets on this special subject circulated, citing the most famous names of antiquity³⁰—Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle—and promising a cure for every ailment, a fitting stone for every complaint. Of course, the power of a stone was greatly enhanced by a suitable engraving or a "magical" legend. The "Magi" from the Orient, the Chaldaeans, were specialists on this subject and³¹ numerous stones have come down to us with representations and inscriptions so intricate and unintelligible that we can hardly hope ever to pierce this dense fog of magic and religion. Our sole consolation is that the inventors of this abracadabra probably never understood themselves the exact meaning of their representations and formulae. And, besides, was not their incomprehensibility as it were a guarantee of their soundness?³² We might smile at this queer superstition, at the naïve and simple people who put their faith in it, if the fattest advertisements in our dailies were not there to remind us of the fact that the selling of panaceas and quack medicines still seems to be a well-paying business. Bearing this in mind, we shall be prepared to understand why the whole of this queer antique wisdom passed on into the Middle Ages and was even considerably embellished by extensive additions. For now the

27. Babelon, *Gravure en pierres fines*, pp. 215 f.

28. At times this was not even deemed necessary, since the fact that pagan gems were adapted to Christian and ecclesiastical purposes sufficiently demonstrated the triumph of the Church: see Marangoni, *Delle cose gentilesche e profane trasportate ad uso ed ad ornamento delle chiese* (Rome, 1764), pp. 70 f.

29. *Nat. Hist.* XXXVII, 5.

30. (Babelon) Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. ant.*,

s. v. *gemma*; Fühner, *Lithotherapie* (Medical dissertation, Strassburg, 1902), pp. 26 f., with full bibliography.

31. I use the terms "magi" and "Chaldaeans" in the sense which they had in later antiquity and the Middle Ages; cf. A. D. Nock, *Paul and the Magus*, to appear as additional note 14 in Foakes Jackson and K. Lake, *Beginnings of Christianity*, IV.

32. Cf. C. W. King, *Early Christian numismatics* (1873), pp. 173 f.; Wallis Budge, *Amulets and Superstitions* (1930).

Biblical persons, such as Adam, David, Solomon, were also available as authors of new tracts on this inexhaustible subject. Solomon's seals are peculiarly powerful and invest the bearer with supernatural faculties. Antique gems acquire a special significance. Perseus with the Medusa's head, interpreted as David with the head of Goliath, wards off lightning, but is equally efficient in other cases—even against the gout!³³ Hercules and the lion is a sovereign remedy against sickness. An eagle, cut into an emerald, parries hail and locusts, provided that a certain formula be pronounced as well. Numbers of these amulets have been preserved and their inferior style proves clearly that the sole important point was the *material* of the stone, combined with the *subject* of the representation; the style did not matter at all.

It seems most noteworthy that this is not an inferior, popular superstition. The educated classes as well, and even their greatest leaders, devoted their attention to these questions: an arresting proof of the general spread of these conceptions and of their importance in daily life. Coming into touch with the quaint complexes of delusions and the part they played during the Middle Ages, we are baffled by their force and the pull they had on popular fancy, and we can easily understand that Christian authors, too, gave their attention to stones and their secret power. We take as an example of cool-headed treatment of this subject the chapters in question³⁴ of the *Etymologiae* by Isidorus of Seville (d. 636). This excellent and learned bishop is rather a sceptic, and when speaking of the secret powers of stones he takes the precaution to intersperse his text with remarks like "*si creditur,*" "*fertur,*" "*putatur;*" he even goes so far as to point out expressly, that the alleged protection by stones is not a question of faith but of superstition.³⁵ Nevertheless, he cannot refrain from giving the special use of every stone. Apparently, he considered his encyclopaedia to be incomplete without this information, which ultimately derives from the doctrine of astrology. So, here too, we find extremely useful stones: foremost, the amethyst, protecting, as its name indicates, from intoxication; others protect against poison or are powerful to ease childbirth or further lactation. But there are others with general, protective qualities or some which, combined with a magical formula, are able to render the bearer invisible. Against these Isidorus' conscience revolts. If the alleged power of the stones threatens to infringe the eternal law of God, he feels it his duty to protest and to state expressly that this is superstition! Otherwise he takes a very tolerant view of the question, as broad and human as Vincentius of Beauvais, who in the thirteenth century, referring in the prologue to his *Speculum Maius* (c. VIII) to the various opinions of philosophers on nature, leaves it to his readers to follow one or the other, being convinced that the Christian faith does not incur any danger.³⁶ Indeed, from a theological point of view, everybody may believe whatever he likes, and the mediaeval lapidaries are there to prove to us that mediaeval man availed himself quite liberally of this freedom. He kept on the safe side and preferred to believe, where certainty could not be reached, rather than to deny powers which at the worst might prove to be powerless.

And, after all, these stones and amulets, worn with conviction, certainly have not entirely lost their useful effect. Our modern physicians have abjured these aids to their art. But have they not substituted another pious fraud? Does not our doctor largely depend upon

33. Babelon, *Gravure en pierres fines*, p. 223.

34. *Etymol.* XVI, IV-XIV.

35. *Ibid.*, XVI, VIII, 8.

36. See Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, II, p. 1.

his "bedside manner"? His constant optimism cheers the "hopeless case," suggesting that "to-day we are much better," and with the aid of this suggestion he musters nature's last reserves against the illness, enlisting hope as his most powerful helper. We may safely assume that the ancient and mediaeval physicians knew quite well what kind of help they might expect from the wearing of "medicinal" stones or amulets. Probably there were many quack doctors, too, experimenting unconsciously with the powerful aid of auto-suggestion. And eventually a doctor, himself believing in the inherent power of stones, could but the more convincingly influence his patient.³⁷

We may safely assume that the great majority of the stones, engraved or plain, which have come down to us, once, in the Middle Ages, were worn, sometimes as a remedy, more often probably with prophylactic purposes, as amulets, by the rich and the poor, by princes and peasants. "*Lapides pretiosi*" they are called by Isidorus,³⁸ "because they are expensive"—expensive, "because they are rare." But their number, even now, does not strike us as particularly low. Of course, rareness is a shifting notion. Its degree is determined by the demand and so again we are led to the conclusion that stones must have been in great demand with every class of the population. Most of these "precious" stones could hardly have been worn as trinkets, and must have been amulets. Among the plain specimens we may note a great number which are neither precious nor rare and hardly more than attractive pebbles. The blue quartz in the middle of the lower right panel of the Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus is an excellent example. The stone has been perforated in the antique manner by drilling a hole from both sides. But why should it have been perforated if once it had not been worn?

One class of plain stones stands by itself. They are only fashioned to a certain extent. I mean the crystal balls, often found in graves of the Merovingian times. In some cases the original mounting, consisting of narrow, metal rims, by which the balls can be suspended, is still preserved. It is commonly assumed that they were worn as trinkets, just as the Romans used to wear a bulla or a cameo round the neck.³⁹ This may be correct to a certain extent, but probably the balls had another, more practical use as well. The fact that some specimens approach in their shape an elongated pear, and that others are egg-shaped, combined with the beautiful clear material, makes it extremely probable that they were once used as sunglasses.

In antiquity this use was well known. Isidorus,⁴⁰ who mentions it too, may have borrowed this piece of information from Pliny, who throughout the chapters on stones seems to have been his principal source. But the fact that Isidorus adduces other examples of the application of sunglasses, proves that rock crystal still was polished into the shape of a lens in the seventh century. The crystal balls, however, found in Merovingian graves, belong approximately to the same date. Such a miraculous device must have been a precious asset for a Merovingian chieftain, investing him with wonderful and awe-inspiring powers.⁴¹

37. Fühner, *Lithotherapie*; comp. also Kunz, *Curious Lore of Precious Stones*, pp. 367 f.

38. *Etymol.* XVI, VI, 2.

39. Babelon, *Histoire de la gravure sur gemmes*, pp. 9 f.

40. *Etymol.* XVI, XIII, I.

41. The question whether sunglasses were known in Greek and Roman times has been treated repeatedly.

See: Kisa, *Das Glas*, II, pp. 355 f.; Blümner, *Technologie*, III, pp. 298 f., 313 f. (on Nero's eyeglass); Neuburger, *Technik d. Altertums*, p. 237; Danenberg and Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.* s. v. *Pila* II. Since lenses were found as early as the specimen in the second city of Troy and as far afield as the lens from Nimrud (see Ebert, *Reallexikon*, s. *Λ. Lupe und Brille*) and since the use of the sunglass even for

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What "miracles" may he not have worked with his wonderful stone! What miracles may have been ascribed to the countless other, more modest stones! To their possessors they were all something precious, rare, unique, and viewed in this light, the presents of gems to churches and monasteries, the embellishing of the Gospels, of crosses, and reliquaries with many-colored stones, reveal a deeper meaning. These are not merely gay-colored trinkets and easily replaced by buying others tomorrow. The donor, reluctantly perhaps, has to part with his most private and personal property, which the vicissitudes of life have rendered almost part of himself. Why then does he part with it? Out of gratitude, we may assume, for protection and help in difficulties. Gratitude to God, to Christ, to Mary or a saint, for every stone presented proves that somebody has gained a deeper insight into the power of God Almighty, ruling the universe. His power, possibly through the mediation of the Virgin or a saint, may have seemed to reveal itself in the effect of a stone. But this power is not inherent in the stone, its ultimate source is God, the only real power in the universe. Only those who reached this conclusion may be supposed to have willingly given up their stones and amulets.⁴² In support of this view, attention should be called to the fact that the donations were not made to a church, a monastery, or a priest. Many examples prove that they were actually offered to Christ Himself, to the Virgin, or the saints. It may suffice to cite the magnificently bound codex, the oldest preserved, which the Langobard queen Theodelinda (d. 625) expressly gave to St. John the Baptist.⁴³ Another example is the Dionysiac Kantharos, formerly in the Church at St.-Denis, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris,⁴⁴ which for many centuries served as a chalice and used to have the following inscription of the twelfth century:

*Hoc vas Christe tibi (devota) mente dicavit
Tertius in Francos (sublimis) regmine Karlus.*

Only from this point of view can we understand that the clergy did not object to its being turned into the most holy vessel of Christian use; only thus we understand why the bindings of the Holy Book are strewn with pagan intaglios and cameos and with plain stones, obviously amulets. These too were pious donations to Christ, not merely "gay stones," fitting in with a more or less barbarous scheme of gaudy decoration.

surgical purposes (see Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVII, 10, 28, and Fühner, *Lithotherapie*, pp. 45 f.), is frequently mentioned in ancient literature, there can hardly be any doubt about this point. As for its use in the Middle Ages, we have the statement of Isidorus; we know also that the Arabs knew lenses, that a crystal lens from the Viking period has been found at Visby, and that Baco, in the early thirteenth century, describes lenses (see Feldhaus, *Technik d. Antike und des Mittelalters*, pp. 221, 238, 300). It seems therefore extremely probable that during the whole Middle Ages sunglasses were known and in constant use. I have not been able to trace a statement apparently made by Prof. Ridgeley and quoted by Kunz (*Curious Lore*, p. 203) that "the crystal was used to light the sacrificial fire (sc. in Greece) and was so employed in the Church down to the fifteenth century." If this contention can be proved there is, of course, no doubt whatever about the continuous use of lenses. Kunz (pp. 176 f.) also draws attention to the

use of crystal balls in the practice of crystal gazing. Their particular power of inducing a state of autohypnosis may certainly have played a rôle. Still I am inclined to consider their importance as burning glasses as of more general importance.

42. Apparently unmounted gems were sometimes presented to a church, and were probably kept for special purposes. As such I regard a hoard of gems found in 1545 in the garden of the church of S. Biagio in Rome. Only a list has been preserved; see Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1898, XIII, pp. 90 f. Among the 69 pieces mentioned there are several portraits in chalcedony, vases, etc., but also plain stones.

43. Loubier, *Der Bucheinband*, p. 36.

44. Babelon, *Camées antiques*, No. 368; comp. also the evangelarium which St. Bernward of Hildesheim dedicated expressly to St. Michael, see Beissel, *Des hl. Bernward Evangelienbuch*, p. 13.

So far, every gem, every amulet presented, stands for a victory of the Church, a triumph of faith scored over superstition.

* * *

It seemed necessary to insist on these points at some length in order to attempt an answer to the question how these glaringly pagan monuments came into their Christian surroundings and were even given the place of honor, and also to find a standpoint from which we may not only judge the outward appearance of our bindings, but appreciate as well the spirit in which they were composed.

We shall now return to a discussion of the antique gems used here, and begin with the Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus (Fig. 3). Its binding contains thirty-two stones,⁴⁵ of which the plain specimens may be left out of account, as it is hardly possible, owing to the problematic terminology of semiprecious stones, to label every individual stone with a name generally understood.⁴⁶ The numbers 2, 7, 22, 25, 29, 30, and 32 (see diagram, Fig. 7) are all varieties of quartz, the numbers 22, 25, 29 having possibly a claim to be called inferior amethyst. The numbers 4, 13, 16, 23, and 24 have a better right to this name, whereas the variegated stone in the center (27) contains amethyst as well as carnelian.⁴⁷ No. 6, of a beautiful green shade, is usually called emerald-plasma; Nos. 11, 17, and 21 are rock crystal; and the big stone No. 31 is an agate. In Roman times little appreciated (cf. Pliny, *N. H.* XXXVII, 54, 139), it was later much sought after, as it was said to protect from the sting of the scorpion. No. 14 is just a pebble; Nos. 26 and 28 cannot be clearly defined.

Of the eleven engraved stones which remain, No. 1 is a carnelian (2.25 x 1.71 cm.), of oval shape (Fig. 5, top, right). The representation, flatly cut and surrounded by a dotted line, shows to the left a half-reclining figure, seen from the back. The legs are draped, the head is turned to the left, the figure is leaning with its left arm on the root of a tree, with one long branch and leaves indicated by dots; a necklace is suspended from the branch. From the right a little cupid is seen approaching, holding up a looking-glass (?).

This representation occurs frequently with slight variations. A popular version, showing the reclining figure from the front, gives it as a Hermaphrodite, usually accompanied by three playing cupids.⁴⁸ On other specimens, described and illustrated by Furtwängler,⁴⁹ the reclining figure, now female, is seen with one or two men approaching, possibly a representation of Eros and Psyche or of Bacchus and Ariadne. At any rate, the subject seems to have been very popular in antiquity. On a Roman cameo it returns again as Bacchus and Ariadne;⁵⁰ a cornaline at Berlin shows a satyr, surprising a sleeping nymph;⁵¹ and a nicolo also⁵² at Berlin, exactly corresponds with the gem at Utrecht. It is difficult to decide what is meant here. We may hesitate between a sleeping Venus and a Hermaphrodite. The latter theme was in great favor in the time of the Roman Empire. To this period

45. I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Prof. Dr. Rutten of the University at Utrecht, who kindly identified the various stones for me.

46. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, pp. 383 f.

47. I have mentioned already No. 29 on account of its perforation (v. p. 16); Nos. 4, 17, 21, 24, and 30 are equally pierced in the antique manner.

48. Babelon, *Camées antiques*, No. 48; Reinach,

Pierres gravées, pls. 124, 125; to judge from the great number of modern imitations, this scene seems to have been very popular; cf. Babelon, *op. cit.*, Nos. 49, 479, 494, and Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1869, pp. 185, 9.

49. *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. XXX, 1, 55, 56; pl. LXII, 25.

50. Babelon, *op. cit.*, No. 80.

51. Furtwängler, *Beschr. d. geschnittenen Steine*, 7417.

52. *Ibid.*, 8198.

we must ascribe the stone at Utrecht, as seems indicated by the engraving, which is flat, though not without merits.

The identification of the representation on No. 3 is easier (Fig. 6, top, left). This is an imitation in dark-blue glass of a nicolo, measuring 1.88 x 1.52 cm., engraved with a Sol Invictus, striding to the right, and nude but for a little mantle wrapped round his right arm, and the radiate diadem on his head. The left hand is raised in a gesture of speech, the right holds a whip. This motive has been treated identically⁵³ or with slight variations on numerous stones⁵⁴ and occurs also on coins. Sol Invictus played an important part during the Empire. For some time after Aurelian made his cult the official religion of the state (274 A. D.), he more or less absorbed the tendency to monotheism, alive with the pagans, and his effigy proved to be so popular, that it remained on the coins even after Constantine had adopted Christianity, though after 323 A. D. it was symbolically interpreted as the Sol Iustitiae, in reference to the word of the prophet Malachi (iv, 2). Usener, who has devoted an exhaustive study to Sol Invictus,⁵⁵ deals extensively with the coins bearing this effigy. According to his researches the first coins with the effigy of Sol appear during the reign of Septimius Severus, showing the same attitude and attributes as on the gem at Utrecht. Sometimes the whip, symbolizing the god as the driver of his quadriga, is replaced by a globe. There are some other slight variations,⁵⁶ but the similarity is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there must have been a common example, probably a cult statue at Rome. Long before the drastic measures of Aurelian, Sol was already worshiped extensively at Rome. Usener (p. 470) thinks the prototype was a Hellenistic statue; at any rate, we cannot prove its presence in Rome before the reign of Septimius Severus (c. 200 A. D.). To the third century or later we may also ascribe the gem at Utrecht, which has been engraved rather superficially.

The stone No. 8 is a typical nicolo, measuring 1.89 x 1.10 cm., representing a nude Venus half turned to the left (Fig. 8, top, left). The right hand raised, she holds behind her back a piece of drapery with both hands—a charming motive, which one would expect to have been in great favor. This, however, is not the case. One parallel only can be found, on a gem reproduced by Gravelle, as usual without any indication of the character of the stone or its owner.⁵⁷ A brown paste at Berlin, of the Augustan age, also shows a similar motive.⁵⁸ There, however, Venus leans on a pillar, on which stands an archaistic statue of Dionysus. With her left hand she holds up her mantle behind her back. Furtwängler⁵⁹ and others have already pointed out the resemblance of this gem to a torso at Naples,⁶⁰ which he ascribes to Euphranor. The support, however, forms an integral part of the composition and determines the shifting of the body. So, notwithstanding a general similarity, the representation of the gem at Utrecht cannot possibly reproduce the same plastic model. The way in which the drapery is used as a background rather points to a painted prototype; the motive may even have been conceived by a gem cutter. At any rate, it is ex-

53. E. g., Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, 8651-3.

54. Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, pls. 31, 64, 9 (Sol with lance); 50, 14, 1 (standing on a mountain).

55. *Rhein. Museum*, 1905, N. F. 60, pp. 465 f.

56. E. g., Mattingly-Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, I, pp. 140, 170, 217, 223, 290, 300, 305.

57. See Reinach, *Pierres gravées*, pl. 75, 23; the motive reversed, see *Ibid.*, pl. 78, 17.

58. Furtwängler, *Beschr. d. geschn. Steine*, 6221; *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. XXXVI, 25.

59. *Meisterwerke*, p. 592, note 7.

60. For a reproduction cf. Furtwängler-Strong, *Masterpieces*, p. 358, fig. 155.

tremely rare. The specimen at Utrecht is not particularly fine and must be dated in the time of the Empire.

The stone No. 9, again a nicolo, measuring 1.31 x 1.23 cm., deals not without merit with a pretty motive (Fig. 8, top, right). Two satyrs are kneeling at the sides of a herm. One of them apparently has a thorn in his foot and is resting his left leg, supporting it with both hands, on the knee of the other. The second satyr is examining the hurt limb attentively. A marble group in the Vatican⁶¹ treats the same subject, though in a rather more complicated and pathetic way, and groups of satyrs, placed antithetically, are common in the archaistic art of the first century B. C.⁶² The theme frequently occurs on gems,⁶³ dated by Furtwängler as belonging to the same period. A small carnelian at Berlin,⁶⁴ not quite as good as the gem at Utrecht, corresponds in every point with our specimen. It probably must be dated first century B. C. to first century A. D.

The stone No. 18, a finely cut carnelian (1.36 x 1.12 cm.) shows a biga to the right (Fig. 5, bottom, left). The stooping charioteer has a whip in his hand. Other attributes are lacking, and as the subject is common from the fourth century B. C. onward, there would be no point in enumerating parallels.⁶⁵ The stone probably belongs to the early Empire.

The stone No. 19, a nicolo (1.24 x 1.30 cm.), shows Mars striding to the left, clad in a loin cloth (Fig. 5, bottom, right). In his left hand he holds a spear, the right shoulder a trophy. On the head he wears a crested helmet. This subject occurs frequently. Furtwängler has described and illustrated several stones exactly corresponding;⁶⁶ Reinach, from older publications, likewise illustrates a good many identical compositions.⁶⁷ In the Berlin catalogue Furtwängler calls this figure Mars *Victor*, in his *Antike Gemmen*, he seems to prefer Mars *Gradivus*. Reinach expresses himself more neutrally. There is indeed no definite reason why we should speak here of Mars *Gradivus*, though one might find an indication in the fact that in antiquity the epithet *gradivus* usually was derived from the verb *gradior*, and was interpreted as Mars "going to war."⁶⁸ There is, however, a serious objection to the identification of the type on our gem with the "gradivus" type: his carrying a trophy seems, to say the least, a little rash. The representation of Mars in an aggressive attitude, with shield and spear, as occurring on several coins of the Bruttii, is more fitting for this conception.⁶⁹ On Roman imperial coins, however, the subject of our stone constantly recurs, sometimes identically, sometimes with slight variations. A bronze medallion of Hadrian shows the same type, now clad in a tunic and bareheaded.⁷⁰ The legend ROMULO CONDITORI leaves no doubt as to the meaning of the representation, which occurs again on a bronze coin of Commodus, though without a legend.⁷¹ The same figure, but with a helmet and a loin cloth, apparently Mars—here also without legend—appears on coins of M. Aurelius and Commodus,⁷² and this type seems

61. Reinach, *Rép. stat.*, I, p. 412.

62. Reinach, *Rép. Rel.*, II, p. 274, 1; 275, 1; III, p. 144, 2; 283, 3; 427, 4.

63. E. g., Berlin, *Beschr. geschn. Steine*, 4061, 4062.

64. *Ibid.*, 7392.

65. It may suffice to quote Henkel, *Röm. Fingerringe*, I, p. 144, who thinks it possible that Phoebus Apollo is represented here; cf. *Westdeutsche Ztschr.*, 1896, 15, p. 385.

66. *Beschr. geschn. Steine*, 7255-9, 8170 (nicolo); *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. L, 22, b.

67. *Pierres gravées*, pl. 31, 64, 1; 58, 2 and 3; 59, 4; 73, 97, 1; 125, 39 bis; cf. also Henkel, *Röm. Fingerringe*, I, 1524.

68. Roscher, *Ausf. Lexikon*, s. v. *Mars*, col. 2423; Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, pp. 145 f.

69. Roscher, *op. cit.*, col. 2395, fig. 5.

70. Gnechi, *Medaglioni Romani*, III, pl. 145, 7 (I cite only specimens which are reproduced).

71. *Ibid.*, pl. 80, 8.

72. *Ibid.*, pl. 71, 10.

to have prevailed. We find it on a bronze medallion of Septimius Severus, identical with the representation on our gem, and the legend MARS PATER removes all doubt.⁷³ It occurs also on coins of Aurelian⁷⁴ and of Constantine,⁷⁵ sometimes by itself, sometimes in a group with prisoners. On these coins the legend usually runs VIRTUS AUGUSTA, but it is clear that the coin type represents Mars. The evidence does not allow us to go any farther or to speak of Mars *Gradivus* or Mars *Victor*. On the other hand, the continuous occurrence of this type on coins and gems makes it likely that the type derives from a well-known cult statue at Rome. The style of this statue seems to be well preserved in its numerous reproductions. The graceful build of the body, the elastic, almost dancing gait of the figure, walking on tiptoe, and the curved tails of the loin cloth, receding from the body, all point in one direction, to the classicist school, which flourished in the first century of the Empire, and was artificially recalled to life once more under Hadrian. To his age the prototype of the countless representations must be ascribed.⁷⁶ The stone at Utrecht was made later, probably in the third century. Possibly gems with this subject were thought to be particularly suitable for soldiers. What part they played in the Middle Ages is unknown.

The stone No. 12, a beautiful red jasper (1.40 x 1.17 cm.), leaves more room for guesswork (Fig. 8, bottom, center). It must have come from the Orient and probably once belonged to the booty of a crusader. Its Cufic inscription reads as follows: "Put your trust in Allah and with the Lord of the faithful seek communication."⁷⁷ Hence this stone is not an amulet, meant to ward off evil powers and influences, but a talisman, which, it is true, equally has this function, but is also supposed to grant special favors to the bearer.⁷⁸ We may assume that this talisman, however acquired, had a deeper meaning to its Christian owner as well, who, presenting it for a sacred purpose, parted with more than a simple, gay-colored piece of precious stone.

This has certainly been the case with the gems Nos. 5, 10, 15, and 20, which still remain. The best plan will be to take them together with the three gems, still preserved, which adorn the vertical borders of the binding of the Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus, as all seven belong to the same class. They are made of glass and clearly in a primitive way attempt to imitate the effect of a nicolo with chamfered rim. Apparently a drip of light-colored glass has been dropped on a dilated drop of dark glass, while the latter was still red-hot. Both layers fused into one and afterwards the general effect of a nicolo with dark rim was obtained by means of careful polishing.⁷⁹ Into the light upper layer were engraved the primitive figures, which in many cases reached into the dark under layer, thus imitating the effect of an engraved nicolo. A glance at the reproductions is enough to show that this effect was only very imperfectly attained. The scratched-in figures, mostly of men, are childishly clumsy and geometrically simplified, which is probably the reason why the

73. Bernhart, *Handb. z. Münzkunde d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, pl. 27, 7; Gnecci, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 93, 10.

74. Gnecci, III, pl. 3, 13; Mattingly-Sydenham, *op. cit.*, V. 1, p. 265, 1; p. 267, 16.

75. Gnecci, *op. cit.*, pl. 8, 6.

76. To this period also points the treatment of the nicolo with its chamfered rim, a form which only comes in

vogue during the later Roman Empire; see Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 392.

77. I wish to thank Dr. J. H. Kramers at Leyden, who kindly undertook the reading of the inscription.

78. See on this point King, *Early Christian Numismatics*, pp. 173 f.

79. Olshausen, *Verhandl. Anthropol. Gesellsch.*, Berlin, 1888, pp. 306 f.

catalogue⁸⁰ calls these gems Egyptian. This is, however, incorrect. In 1871, an accidental find on the island of Alsen, off the coast of Jutland, first drew our attention to this class of primitive works of art, which have since come to light in increasing numbers. They are now generally called Alsen gems. In 1882⁸¹ Bartels could already lay before the public twelve specimens and attempt a classification. His system of grouping is simple: he distinguishes gems with one, two, or three figures, tries to make out a development, and ascribes all specimens to one artist. This artist, according to Bartels, probably lived in the island of Seeland (Denmark) and worked in the early Middle Ages (fourth-fifth century). The paste gems he considers as talismans, worn by warriors. Gradually more pieces became known—there is no need to mention the various supplementary publications—until in 1887 their number had gone up to thirty-five. The imitation gems then were dealt with more extensively by Olshausen, who also drew up a tabulated survey and added a provenance map.⁸² Since then, as far as I am aware, no further research has been undertaken.⁸³ From Olshausen's investigations a curious fact came to light. The majority of these gems appeared to be in church treasures. Only nine pieces were actually found in the soil. Of these, four were found on the Danish isles, one in western Germany, and four in the Netherlands,⁸⁴ in various places in the province of Friesland. Thus, wherever the gems were found in the soil, they came to light on the coasts of the North Sea. A glance at the map further teaches us that all other pieces, with the exception of two specimens in church treasures at Aix-la-Chapelle and Trèves, are found between the Rhine and the Elbe.⁸⁵ It is therefore a most plausible inference that the gems were made in this region. Their occurrence in Denmark Olshausen explains by the marauding expeditions of the Vikings. He supposes that the "Alsen gems" were originally made for Christians as a makeshift for genuine stones, and were specially meant for the decoration of church utensils. This, however, would involve an explanation of the subjects in a Christian sense, and we can hardly accept Olshausen's proposal, that they were intended to be an illustration of Job and his friends.

Apart from the impossibility of making out anything resembling a "scene" of this description, Olshausen's arguments have been easily refuted by Bartels.⁸⁶ He points out the general similarity in composition between the "Alsen gems" with two or three figures, and the obverses of late East Roman coins, representing a Victory with the emperor and the Caesar, or a Victory handing a palm to an emperor. This argument is considerably strengthened by the fact that the artist has tried to imitate on one of the gems⁸⁷ the dotted chain of pearls which commonly outlines the coins, as well as by the general resemblance of the "Alsen gems" to nicolos with chamfered rims, a shape greatly in favor in the later Roman Empire.⁸⁸ Olshausen has, however, rightly pointed out that the "Alsen gems"

80. Sub No. 310.

81. *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, XIV, pp. 179 f.

82. *Verh. Berl. Anthropol. Gesellsch.*, 1887, pp. 688 f.

83. The Alsen gems are summarily treated in general works of reference such as Kisa, *Das Glas*, III, pp. 918 f.; Hoops, *Reallexikon der german. Altertums*, s. v. *Alsener gemmen*; Forrer, *Reallexikon*, s. v. *Alsener gemmen*.

84. Among these is the only known specimen with four figures; since 1887 two more pieces were found in

Frisia, see *Verh.*, 1888, pp. 247 f.; Pleyte, *Nederlandsche Oudheden* (1887), pl. XVII, 12 a—e; Boeles, *Friesland* pl. XLVIII. The gems are now in the Friesch Museum at Leeuwarden.

85. Utrecht, which in Olshausen's list takes up an ambiguous position, must be ruled out, as the gems in our bindings really come from Deventer.

86. *Verh., Berl. Anthropol. Gesellsch.*, 1887, pp. 706 f.

87. *Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie*, 1882, p. 192, fig. 6.

88. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 392.

never are pierced and never have been found set into a ring, so that there would be some difficulty in wearing them as talismans or amulets. There is still another possibility. Bartels has called attention to a passage of the *Thidriksaga*,⁸⁹ a collection of sagas grouped more or less freely round the person of Theodoric of Berne. This collection in its present form is relatively late (about 1250), but its components are much older. An invasion into the realm of King Nidung of Jutland is described.⁹⁰ King Nidung marches out, but all at once "he remembers that he has left his *victory stone* at home. In this time some kings possessed a stone, which had the power of securing the victory to its bearer." Of course, Nidung's "victory stone" need not have been an "Alsen gem," but the passage proves that this sort of talisman was not continually carried about. In case of need they might well have been worn on the body otherwise than just suspended from a string. At any rate, the saga of Theodoric of Berne again leads us back to the *early* Middle Ages, the period in which the barbarians, ever pushing forward, came into touch with the old civilization of the declining Roman Empire, and this civilization penetrated through barbarian channels into the utmost corners of northern Europe, not without degeneration on its way. The so-called bracteates, thin stamped gold leaves imitating the late Roman gold coins, show that the Roman coin types are more and more adapted to the rules of Teutonic ornamentation, so that at last the effigies can hardly be recognized. Often, however, they have a certain similarity with the engravings on "Alsen gems." Bartels, who no longer holds his opinion that these gems should be ascribed to one artist, now regards them as talismans, possibly even "victory stones," the products of heathenism, ever more pushed back by the Christian religion, and still keeping up the traditional contact with the Southern civilization. They may have been made in the seventh to ninth centuries. This view seems to fit in with the scanty facts. We may well remember by what drastic measures Charlemagne converted the rebellious Saxons to the Christian creed, and also, lest we should forget the reverse of the medal, how St. Boniface with his fifty-two disciples was slain at Dokkum in 754 by the pagan Frisians whom he had tried to convert. Among these Frisians and possibly among the Saxons, we may look for the artists who produced the primitive works of art dealt with here.⁹¹

Precious they were, not on account of the material or the engraved representations, but for the value attached to them by their former possessors. To them they were unique talismans, possessing mysterious powers and probably adorned with figures belonging to their own religion. This religion, willingly or unwillingly, was now given up and replaced by Christianity. Obviously the new Christians could not better prove their faith than by dedicating their old magical stones to the new God, and it goes without saying that the priests were particularly eager to accept these stones, and gave them a place of honor among the others offered by the faithful. This explanation most completely covers the fact that works of art so unpretentious have been set so conspicuously on church utensils, in the binding of the Gospels, in reliquaries, and even in the crown of the golden Virgin at Essen. In this respect, too, the restored bindings at Utrecht follow an old tradition.

89. My special thanks are due to my friend, Prof. Dr. J. van Dam, who kindly informed me about these questions and looked up the references.

90. *Thidreksaga af Bern*, udgivet ved Henrik Bertelsen, I, Cap. 112, pp. 106 f.

91. On pagan survivals in the Merovingian age cf. Lindenschmit, *Handb. d. Deutschen Altertumskunde*, I, pp. 493 f.

This explanation confirms, and is in its turn confirmed by, the general views on the mediaeval system of decoration with antique gems which we have set forth above.

We now pass on to the description of the specimens preserved at Utrecht and shall have to deal with every piece separately, as some confusion prevails in the literature bearing on this subject.

No. 5 of the Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus (2.27 x 2.37 cm.) belongs to the class with three figures (Fig. 6, right, and Fig. 9). The representation has no outstanding features. Technically it differs from the usual examples, as the light-blue upper layer is poured onto an under layer of dark-red glass. Nos. 10 (Figs. 8, 10) and 15 (Fig. 11) (resp. 2.30 x 2.00 and 2.17 x 1.76 cm.) are normal in every respect. They belong to the type with two figures. The upper layer of No. 10 is of a darker blue, that of No. 15 is light blue. In both cases the under layer consists of black-blue glass.

No. 20 (2.61 x 2.33 cm.) belongs to the type with three figures (Figs. 5, 12). Technically the craftsman did not quite succeed in producing an imitation of a nicolo. The upper layer of light-blue glass got mixed up with the darker blue of the under layer so that only part of the surface has a light-blue color.

With these pieces can be connected the three specimens in the binding of the Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus, already mentioned. They are set into the vertical borders. For reasons of symmetry it may be assumed that the gem on the right border, now missing, was an "Alsen gem" too.

The other specimen on the right (1.72 x 1.37 cm.) (Fig. 13) has come off particularly well. The black-blue rim of the under layer encircles quite evenly the light-blue upper layer; the glass is of a fine, smooth quality. The representation of one single figure, apparently running, is much more lively than the usual wiry skeleton figures. A comparison with the gem on the left below (1.78 x 1.43 cm.), a typical example of the type with one figure (Fig. 14), makes this perfectly clear. The figure on this cracked gem is holding in its left hand an indistinct, lozenge-shaped attribute. The gem on the left, above (1.80 x 1.65 cm.), has been executed in the usual technique. It shows only some superficial scratches and apparently was never engraved.

Even the survey of this limited series clearly proves that these objects cannot be ascribed to one center. Technically they are unequal and, apart from the difference of representation already observed, we can ascertain that the figures on the unsuccessful gem No. 20 of the Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus show another style. They are more substantial and the heads keep more closely to the natural appearance.

For the time being it seems impossible to determine the date and origin of these curious artifacts more closely. Perhaps new finds may disclose important points of view; perhaps a renewed interest will lead to more fixed results. At any rate, it seems surprising that this class of rather rare art products, has never, so far as I am aware, been dealt with since 1888, and has only been mentioned incidentally now and again.

Going on with the Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus, we may pass quickly the plain stones. The center of the cross is taken up by a magnificent onyx; underneath, on the lower arm, a striped agate has been mounted. Into the right arm a cracked piece of dark-red glass has been set and, finally, in the right upper corner we find a small opal.

Archaeologically most important is the portrait of a lady, set into the upper arm of the cross (Figs. 15-17, 19, 21, 22). The head is made of chalcedony, of a milky-grey to light-



FIG. 9



FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13



FIG. 14

Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: Alsen Gems (Drawings). Figs. 9, 10, 11, 12 from Evangelistarium of St. Ansfridus; Figs. 13, 14 from Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus



FIG. 15

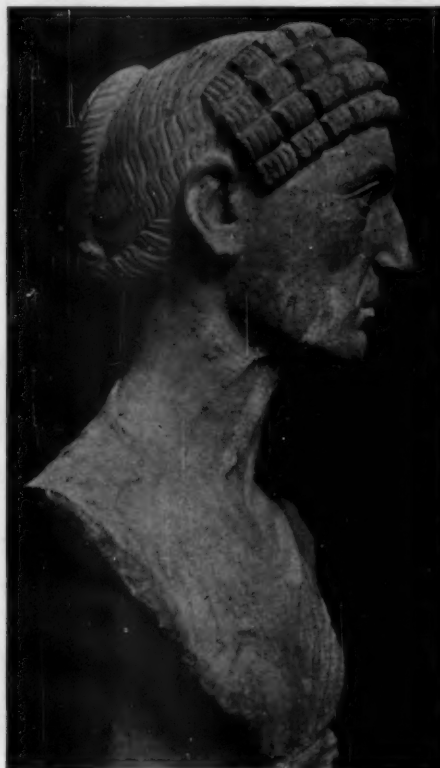


FIG. 18



FIG. 16



FIG. 17



FIG. 19



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 22

FIGS. 15, 16, 17, 19, 21, 22—Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: Portrait of a Roman Lady (22, after Cast) on Evangelistarium of St. Bernulphus; FIG. 18—Rome, Capitoline Museum: Portrait of a Roman Lady; FIG. 20—Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe: Head of Trajan



FIG. 23



FIG. 24



FIG. 25



FIG. 26



FIG. 27

FIGS. 23-26—Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: Head of Bacchus (26, after Cast) on *Evangelarium* of St. Lebuinus; FIG. 27—Leyden, Ryksmuseum: Terracotta Head of Youth

brown color and in its present state still measures 3.8 cm. It is a fragment of a bust or a statuette. Instances in precious stone of both forms are known elsewhere. The head has been adapted to its present purpose by chiseling off the neck, and apparently the chin has been damaged by a slip of the instrument. In order to provide the head with as large a setting surface as possible, the whole of the occiput, just behind the high toupet of locks, has been sawn off. On the cut surface the traces of the saw, penetrating from both sides, are still clearly visible (Fig. 16). The upper row of locks has been slightly ground down.⁹²

Set into the binding the portrait now gives a wrong impression. The face slopes too much backward, the mouth and chin, though strongly developed, now project too much and the undue stress thereby laid on these parts is still further emphasized by the lack of the nose, which, in harmony with the face, must have been powerful (Fig. 15). A reproduction can hardly do justice to this piece. Its highly polished surface and again the transparent material partly reflect, partly absorb the light, so that the careful, sensitive modeling of the cheeks, the mouth, and the forehead do not come out adequately. The reproduction of a plaster cast gives only an approximate impression of its qualities (Fig. 22).

We have before us an elderly lady with a lean face and slightly projecting cheek bones. The eyes are sunk deeply into their sockets. The pupils are turned to the left and partly covered by the lowered eyelids. The mouth is small, the lips are thin and firmly closed. The long, bony and emaciated face seems small under the enormous headdress and impresses us with its cool determination.

The dating of this portrait seems easy. The headdress apparently points to the time of Trajan and the treatment of the face is in keeping with this date. Other carved works of precious stone from this period, which are of course very scarce, show the same modeling. For comparison may be cited a ring of rock crystal, adorned with the bust of an elderly lady, at Vienna. Eichler⁹³ has already pointed out that the Viennese ring⁹⁴ in the way it has been fashioned seems to betray stylistic elements of a later date. He has very properly put this down to the extreme difficulty of carving the very hard material. As in the case of the ring at Vienna, this difficulty may be noticed in the portrait of Utrecht in the treatment of the pupils and a certain irregularity in the carving of the eyelids. The same applies to a portrait head of Trajan, also of chalcedony, now in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe at Hamburg⁹⁵ (Fig. 20). This head corresponds exactly from a stylistic point of view with the specimen at Utrecht, though the latter as a work of art is somewhat superior to the Hamburg head and by far surpasses the ring at Vienna. Other pieces, too, of different periods,⁹⁶ usually show in small details the same unsteadiness of the instrument, so that in view of the general excellence of the workmanship, the hardness of the material

92. For a similar adaption cf. the head of Trajan at Hamburg, *Arch. Anz.*, 1928, pp. 487 f., fig. 197.

93. Eichler-Kris, *Die Kameen*, 28.

94. The bust on this ring measures 3.8 cm. The question may be put, whether the Utrecht head does not originate from a similar ring. Usually, however, these busts are firmly connected with the body of the ring (see Eichler-Kris, *op. cit.*, 83). The sharp incision behind the

toupet of the Utrecht portrait and the thickness of its neck seem to exclude this provenience.

95. See note 92; probably also from a bookbinding.

96. E. g., *Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, 2, p. 292; Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, pp. 367 f.; the amber rings, published by Henkel, *Röm. Fingerringe*, pp. 253 f., and pl. LXII, 1676, though belonging to the period of Trajan, for purposes of comparison are valueless.

doubtless may be held responsible for these little flaws and deviations, and for a certain angularity more common at a later date.⁹⁷

Therefore, as the safest starting point for the dating, there remains first the headdress. In the case of the Vienna ring and the Utrecht head it is almost identical: above a flat band of smooth hair on the forehead the hair is done up into a high, upright toupet, consisting of three (in the Utrecht specimen four) concentric rows of small, regularly frizzed locks. As appears from the head at Utrecht, the hair occiput has been partly combed to the front, to supply the material for this creation. On the analogy of other examples, we may assume that the remaining hair was done up into a nest of plaits and fixed on the occiput. Owing to the scarcity of parallels in precious stone, we must turn to marble sculpture for purposes of further comparison. Eichler, dealing with the Vienna ring, has already called attention to a portrait in the Museo Capitolino,⁹⁸ which had struck me too some years ago as the nearest parallel to the Utrecht head. Its similarity with the latter even goes further than the apparent identity of headdress. Here too we have before us a middle-aged lady with lean, sharp, energetic features, sunken cheeks and projecting cheek bones and a small, close-lipped mouth. The resemblance does not justify identification, but there can be no doubt that in style and treatment both portraits are closely cognate. The profile view of the Capitoline head (Fig. 18), which Professor Arndt kindly put at my disposal, proved, however, to be somewhat disappointing. Whereas the toupet of the Utrecht head is high and slightly overhangs the forehead, the rows of curls on the Capitoline head lie flat on the head, following the outline of the skull, and whereas in the former case the hair very probably was parted transversely, from ear to ear,⁹⁹ and was at any rate partly combed to the forehead, the scanty hair of the lady in the Capitoline Museum is plaited and done up on the occiput. Besides, the flat band on the forehead, probably consisting of short-cut front hair,¹⁰⁰ is lacking here. There is then a considerable discrepancy between the two heads. Moreover, there is a difference of opinion about the dating of the portrait in the Capitoline Museum in particular,¹⁰¹ and about portraits with similar headdresses generally. It therefore seems necessary to review at some length these fashions and to attempt a closer dating. The headdresses of the early Empire have been treated in outline by Steininger and some preliminary remarks concerning his investigations seem called for. Steininger distinguishes between two types of headdress, the old Republican type and a more modern headdress, which arises about 10 B. C. The former is characterized by a more or less broad loop of hair in the center of the front,¹⁰² the latter by the parting of the hair in the middle.¹⁰³ Personally, I feel inclined to accept a development of the first

97. This is quite strikingly shown by a rock-crystal bust of Alexander at Florence; see Delbrück, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, 1925, XL, pp. 8 f.; in his appreciation of the expression of this portrait Delbrück does not sufficiently take into account this technical point.

98. Sala d. Colombe, 16; cf. Catalogue, p. 145, 16; Arndt-Bruckmann, 742.

99. As, e. g., Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 79.

100. Steininger, in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Haartracht*, col. 2138 f.

101. Arndt: "charakteristisches Bildnis der trajanischen Epoche." Stuart-Jones, *Catal. Mus. Capit.*: "This shape (viz. of the bust) is midway between the Julio-Claudian

and the Flavian forms; therefore we may place it in the time of Nero, and are thus enabled to date this peculiar coiffure."

102. After Steininger's fundamental researches in his thesis, *Die weibl. Haartrachten im 1. Jahrh. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, Munich, 1909, I need not go over the whole material again. I only cite such examples as may illustrate the short survey of the development I have endeavoured to give here: Copenhagen 602, Arndt-Bruckmann, 61-62; Copenhagen 604, *ibid.*, 65-66. (Arndt-Bruckmann, *Gr. u. röm. Porträts* = A.-B. in following notes.)

103. E. g. Copenhagen 605, A.-B., 171-172; Copenhagen 574, A.-B., 173-174.

type into the second, but this point is of minor importance here.¹⁰⁴ However this may be, the new fashion, with the hair parted in the middle, becomes increasingly popular and soon rules supreme. Even Livia, who, as long as her husband with his taste for sterling, old-fashioned manners lived, stuck to her Republican hair roll,¹⁰⁵ soon after 17 A. D. brought her headdress into line with the new fashion. This fashion, which in the beginning had been decidedly more simple and becoming than the stiff, somewhat middle-class headdress of earlier times, had in the meantime developed into easier and more coquettish forms.¹⁰⁶ At first the short, unruly hairs at the temples were frizzed into little curls, but soon these ringlets tend to creep up towards the parting and to expand all over the front part of the head. Obviously, this development necessitates an ingenious operation: the frontal hair has to be cut down to the required length and frizzed expressly. Livia,¹⁰⁷ too, had to submit to this treatment and the portraits of her younger contemporaries¹⁰⁸ show an ever-increasing reign of the scissors and curling tongs. "*Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte!*" Before long the ringlets cover the whole forehead and creep up, three, four, even five rows deep, towards the occiput, threatening to efface the parting in the middle.¹⁰⁹ At last the parting has been entirely obliterated and the front half of the head is completely covered by a compact mass of little curls. This stage is reached by the portrait of Poppaea found at Olympia. (c. 68 A. D.)¹¹⁰

Vespasian was a widower on his accession to the throne, but the coins he struck in honor of his deceased wife, Domitilla, show her wearing the headdress of about 60 A. D. As the Flavian imperial ladies, Julia Titi and Domitia, only appear on the coins from 79 A. D. onward, there is thus a gap of some ten years in our numismatic evidence. The earlier portraits of Julia Titi (c. 80 A. D.)¹¹¹ show, however, that this bourgeois dynasty took its cue from the fashionable ladies of the former court circles. The frontal aspect remains, the ringlets only increase in number and appear more stiffly twisted. The hair is now parted transversely, from ear to ear, and the back-hair is usually done up into a loop or knot. The curls in front follow mainly the outline of the skull. Probably a transitional form between Claudian and Flavian fashion is represented by the headdress of the so-called Agrippina at Naples,¹¹² where the gradual stiffening of the ringlets may be clearly observed (between 70 and 80 A. D.). During the next decade this symptom gains headway and besides the ringlets begin to rise into an artificially raised toupet, as appears from the later portraits of Julia Titi¹¹³ and Domitia.¹¹⁴ Like a thick, round, and massive cushion the little curls frame the face. Obviously, this is a systematic development of the older head-dress. One new idea only has been introduced: the artificial raising of the toupet. In Claudian times we look in vain for precursors of this change, but even the earlier portraits

104. The gradual vanishing of the central hair roll leaves quite a quantity of hair to be disposed of. This must needs lead to the parting in the middle and therefore Steininger's "combined types" may just as well be considered as examples of a transition from the severe Republican fashion to the lighter modes of the younger ladies of the Empire.

105. See Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonogr.*, II, 1, p. 89, fig. 10 (Livia, Louvre).

106. E. g., so-called Agrippina, Capitol. Mus., Stanza d. Imp. 10; cf. Steininger, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

107. Copenhagen 614; A.-B., 6-7.

108. E. g., "Minatia Polla," A.-B., 715.

109. E. g., Madrid, Einzel-Aufn. 1608-9; Venice, E.-A. 2612-3; Rome, Vatican, so-called Domitia, Alinari 6559; Copenhagen 635, A.-B., 716; Olympia, *Ergebn. d. Ausgr.*, III, pl. LXIII, 2, LXIV, 1.

110. *Ergebn. d. Ausgr.*, III, pl. LXIII, 6, LXIV, 2-3.

111. Bernoulli, *R. I.*, II, 2, p. 47, fig. 4; pl. XVI.

112. A.-B., 713-4.

113. Copenhagen 663.

114. Copenhagen 661; A.-B., 725-6; *Rev. Archéol.*, 1896, I, pl. V.

of Julia Titi and Domitia show its beginning. Therefore, the origin of this new fashion must probably be placed in the gap between 70 and 80 A. D. In this connection I venture to call attention to two portraits, which may well be considered as transitional types, viz., the so-called Julia Titi at Copenhagen¹¹⁵ and the head of an Elean priestess found at Olympia,¹¹⁶ where the artificial character of the raised toupet is especially clear. As a particularly daring precursor of the tight toupet consisting of stiffly twisted honeycomb curls, we may consider the so-called Julia in the Museo Capitolino.¹¹⁷ This head has been assigned by Steininger¹¹⁸ to the period of Trajan. Stuart Jones and Arndt more rightly call it Flavian, for the criteria applied by Steininger seem too rigid. I have already insisted on the fundamental importance of Steininger's investigation, and his system of dating certainly works very well as long as we confine ourselves to the numismatic evidence about imperial ladies and attempt to bring it into line with their sculptured portraits. But as soon as we come to the mass of anonymous portraits, we find repeatedly transitional or combination types, which cannot be dated by such external criteria as the relative height of the toupet. The so-called Julia in the Capitoline Museum,¹¹⁹ for this reason called Trajanic by Steininger, makes this clear, as well as our starting point, the portrait in the Capitoline Museum¹²⁰ which Steininger (p. 35) assigns to the period of Nero, because the headdress follows the outline of the skull, and compares with the portrait of Poppaea.¹²¹ Professor Arndt has rightly drawn attention to the age of the portrayed lady.¹²² Not every lady of a more mature age feels inclined to submit to every change of fashion. Very often elderly ladies, especially those with a strong will and self-esteem, at a certain moment stop at the fashion of the day and somehow seem to consolidate it for their further life. From the numerous Roman portraits with headdresses which cannot be brought directly into line with the general development of fashion, we may safely assume the same to have been the case in Rome.

If we now look at our portrait in the Capitoline (Sala d. Colombe 16) (Fig. 18) again, we first observe that the hair of the occiput does not hang down the neck, as was the fashion in Nero's time, but is made into a plait, which is fastened in a loop above. Besides, the customary long curls hanging down behind the ear are lacking here. The headdress as a whole has nothing of the natural ease which characterizes the hair fashion in Neronian and Flavian times up to 80 A. D. We do not find the small separate, loosely twisted ringlets. The hair is divided into braids, tightly twisted on the occiput, and transformed into loose corkscrew curls in front, apparently pinned down above the temples. This is an alternative for the ringlets which can be noticed already in the portrait of the so-called Agrippina the Elder at Copenhagen,¹²³ and we observe that in this case too the long corkscrew locks quite naturally produce the effect of the block-like curls, so striking in the Capitoline portrait

115. A.-B., 723-4.

116. *Ergebn. d. Ausgr.*, III, pl. LXIV, 4-5.

117. Stanza d. Imp. 25; A.-B., 727-8; for a really Trajanic version of this headdress, see Vatican, Chiaramonti 692 (Amelung, *Skulpt.*, I, pl. 85).

118. *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

119. A.-B., 727-8.

120. Sala d. Colomb. 16; A.-B., 742.

121. The date fixed by Stuart Jones rests on similar external criteria. The development of the shape of the

bust, as set forth by Bienkowski (*Rev. Archéol.*, 1895, II, pp. 294 f.) is only a general aid, not a rule without exceptions. In this case there certainly is no reason to call the form of the bust early Flavian or even Neronian; it is rather on the border-line between Flavian and Trajanic busts as distinguished by Bienkowski.

122. "Der Löckchenaufbau des Vorderschädels erinnert an Moden der flavischen Zeit, denen die Dame von ihrer Jugend her anscheinend treu geblieben war." (A.-B., 742, text.)

123. No. 630; A.-B., 711-2.

(Fig. 18). An imitation of this effect is aimed at by the portrait of another lady in the Museo Capitolino,¹²⁴ which is usually dated between 60 and 70 A. D. A part of the short-cut front hair is precisely arranged in a row of twisted curls, the rest, however, is carefully picked and disposed into separate little locks, resembling the curled ends of ribbons. These locks, however, have nothing to do with the corkscrew curls of the Capitoline portrait as has been erroneously intimated by the catalogue (p. 190).

If we now survey our series, we may state that from the Claudian times to the end of the Flavian period there is a growing tendency to make the headdress stiffer, and more massive and solid. On the one hand, this results in the honeycomb toupets of later Flavian times: compact, sharply outlined, high towers of hair; on the other hand, we find a tendency to combine the honeycomb toupet with corkscrew curls and their effect of square divisions. A typical example of the latter type, belonging to the early Flavian period (70-80 A. D.)¹²⁵ is the so-called Julia Titi in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. The block-shaped locks are here already formed by corkscrew curls. The general impression of this headdress, however, is still loose and light and the frontal curls have not yet grown together into the compact honeycomb.¹²⁶ It is immediately followed by a portrait in the Sala d. Busti of the Vatican,¹²⁷ where the honeycomb is now fully developed and crowned by two rows of block-shaped curls. In this case the toupet is of a considerable size and Steininger (p. 45) therefore assigns this head to the period of Trajan, in which he may be right. A further step in the development is shown by the so-called Julia Titi at Copenhagen:¹²⁸ the honeycomb becomes narrower and is crowned by three rows of block-shaped locks.¹²⁹ At last, as shown by a portrait in the Residenz at Munich,¹³⁰ the honeycomb shrinks to one single row of tightly twisted ringlets, above which appear five rows of serried, square locks. Unfortunately, this headdress is badly damaged and all the locks have been knocked off, but the remaining angular incisions prove that the five upper rows were formed by corkscrew locks. The similarity with the headdress of the portrait in the Capitoline (Fig. 18) is striking. There is only one difference. The toupet of the portrait at the Residenz has been artificially raised by a substruction; the lady of the Capitoline did not employ this expedient. It does not matter whether the front hair in some cases is short. On the contrary, this may even be adduced as a proof for the late date of these portraits. The Flavian headdress supposes short front hair. The new fashion with its stiff, block-shaped curls rather requires long hair. But even at the beck of fashion hair cannot be made to grow at short notice. So the ladies, who are seen still wearing the semi-Flavian headdress, simply try to make the best of it. Probably the young girl (Residenz, Munich), when she came out, still had her hair, just as the old lady in the Capitoline Museum had never lost hers. If we look into the face of the latter we can quite understand that she would hardly follow every whim of fashion. This also accounts for her low, not artificially raised, toupet.

If these coiffures still belong to the Flavian period, it is to its very end. But it can be proved more definitely that they are Trajanic already. To this end we must follow the

124. Sala d. Imp. 13; A.-B., 721-2.

125. Bernoulli, *R. I.*, II, 2, pl. XV.

126. Steininger, p. 34, assigns this portrait to the transitional period from Claudius to Nero.

127. No. 306; Amelung, *Skulpt.*, II, pl. 68; Alinari 26969.

128. No. 662.

129. Cf. also Vatican, Br. Nuovo 113, Amelung, I, pl. 14.

130. Einzel-Aufn. 1010-11.

development of fashion a little further. Steininger (p. 42) has pointed out that the typically Flavian headdress changes into different shapes during the reign of Trajan, but he lays particular stress on the survival of the Flavian form, which he dates according to the height of the toupet. This Flavian honeycomb-like toupet, however, in Trajan's time was no longer worn, at least not at the court. Neither Plotina,¹³¹ his wife, nor Marciana,¹³² his sister, nor Matidia,¹³³ his niece, wear a headdress even remotely like it. They all show the stiff, rigid headdresses of studied simplicity, in which flat braids, corkscrew curls and later even stiffly plaited tresses predominate. Nowhere is there a trace of the former playful abundance of little ringlets. Some transitional forms between the Flavian and the Trajanic headdresses may be observed, but it is noteworthy that these forms do not start from the honeycomb-shaped coiffure, but rather from the type alluded to in connection with the Capitoline head, where the honeycomb curls are already on the wane and the square, block-shaped curls are coming in. Among these may be mentioned a portrait in the Lateran,¹³⁴ where a narrow honeycomb toupet is surmounted by several rows of block-shaped locks, formed by corkscrew curls, and the so-called Vestal in the Loggia d. Lanzi,¹³⁵ where the typical Trajanic, flat braid of hair has already replaced the ringlets and the rest of the headdress is formed by corkscrew curls, producing the block-shaped effect. A further stage is marked by a head in the Vatican¹³⁶ and a portrait in the Villa Borghese,¹³⁷ where the growing rigidity of the coiffure is still more striking. A combination of plaits and corkscrew curls is shown by the statue 377 of the Glyptothek at Munich, an excellent example to prove that the corkscrew curls naturally tend to take the block-shaped form. Specimens like the so-called Matidia in the Capitoline Museum¹³⁸ and a Venus with portrait head at Venice¹³⁹ still show a survival of the honeycomb toupet: in the center of the top row of corkscrew curls there is a small bunch of loose curls.

All these portraits admittedly belong to the period of Trajan and many of them represent imperial ladies or at any rate important personages. They therefore may be regarded as representative of Trajanic fashion, not only of the fashionable shapes of headdress, but also of the aesthetic conceptions underlying them. The essential feature of these is a predilection for sharp outlines and compact, plastic forms, in contrast with the illusionistic play of light and shadow which prevails in Flavian times.

How does this tally with the Flavian honeycomb toupets, living on in Trajan's times? Let us first consider some characteristic monuments. If we take again the Domitia at Copenhagen,¹⁴⁰ or the head Sala d. Imp. 25¹⁴¹ as our starting point, it is clear that the Flavian illusionism still dominates; the single forms are vague; everywhere light and shadow blend into each other and the atmosphere seems to melt together with the material surface. The same applies to a figure on a sarcophagus in the Vatican,¹⁴² but another

131. E. g., A.-B., 743.

132. E. g., A.-B., 744-5, E.-A. 3132; Boston, Caskey, *Catal. of Sculpt.*, 125.

133. E. g., A.-B., 746.

134. E.-A. 2245.

135. Dütschke, III, p. 257, No. 562; the head seems to be original.

136. Chiaromonte, 696; Amelung, I, pl. 85.

137. E.-A. 2724.

138. Sala d. Imp. 30.

139. E.-A. 2528.

140. No. 661; A.-B., 725-6.

141. A.-B., 727-8.

142. Cort. d. Belv. 58; Amelung, *Skulpt.*, II, pl. 16; the Julia Titi at Budapest (see Hekler, *Samml. Antiker Skulpt.*, 168, and E.-A. 3180-1) cannot be compared here, as the curls have been much damaged.

funeral figure, on the well-known tombstone of Ulpia Epigone,¹⁴³ which Steininger (p. 43) dates shortly after 80 A. D., seems to be later and must be assigned to the age of Trajan. The sharply cut features, the treatment of the drapery¹⁴⁴ and, last but not least, of the curls, which have been carefully composed as well defined, sharply outlined ringlets, all point in this direction. From this it becomes apparent how dangerous it is to use the height of the toupet as the single, external criterion for the date of a portrait. Besides, Steininger entirely neglects the point that Ulpia Epigone must have been a freedwoman, who may have followed the fashion of the court, but probably did so at a certain distance. It is especially noteworthy that the honeycomb toupets seem to occur preferably on tombstones and that on these very tombstones we find mostly the shapes which by their fixed rigidity, their alternating, sharply outlined ringlets, and deep-black drillholes, remind us most strongly of a honeycomb or a sponge. A good example is provided by the tombstone of Cominia Tyche in the Palazzo Barberini,¹⁴⁵ which also should be assigned to the age of Trajan on account of the treatment of the headdress, whereas its shape seems to point to the Flavian age. In support of this dating some tombstones of married couples give convincing proof. On a specimen in the Villa Borghese¹⁴⁶ the wife wears a headdress after the fashion in vogue in the time of Domitia, treated in the style of Trajan's time. Her husband, however, who died before her, wears his hair after the manner of Trajan. The style of these portraits is clearly Trajanic and even the ornamental pattern of clean-cut tendrils in the gable of the stone suggests a Trajanic rather than a Flavian origin of this stone. The same applies to a modest altar in the Vatican,¹⁴⁷ and Amelung¹⁴⁸ has already called attention to this confusion of fashions. Another example is the so-called Testamentum in the Capitoline Museum,¹⁴⁹ which is clearly Trajanic, to judge by the way in which the man wears his hair and the medallion bust in the center, though the woman still has the Flavian headdress¹⁵⁰.

Some single portraits may now be added here and definitely assigned to the age of Trajan: a portrait, formerly in Lansdowne House,¹⁵¹ a portrait at Madrid,¹⁵² and the so-called Marciana at Vienna.¹⁵³ All these hardly leave any doubt that they represent middle-class people and we therefore may conclude that many middle-class women at a certain moment stopped at the fashion then in vogue and, with slight variations, clung to it to the end of their lives. They may have somewhat altered the shape or the height of their toupet, but these criteria count for little. What matters to us, next to the general character of the

143. Lateran. Benndorf-Schöne, 448; Altmann, *Grabaltäre*, p. 58, fig. 50.

144. Cf. Snyder, *Röm. Kunstgeschichte* (1925), pp. 29 f.

145. E.-A. 2937.

146. E.-A. 2868.

147. Galler. Lapid. 115a, Amelung, *Skulpt.*, I, pl. 27.

148. *Röm. Mitt.* 1905, XX, p. 184.

149. Galleria, 65; catalogue, pl. 23, 65.

150. With these specimens may be compared a grave relief in the Museo delle Terme (E.-A. 3245) which belongs to the end of Hadrian's reign. The "Flavian" headdress, which occurs here, was apparently, as Mingazzini remarks, copied from a bust, not after a living model. Towards the

end of the Hadrianic period this headdress was clearly no longer known. Without understanding its meaning, the artist simply made an ornamental pattern of the ringlet toupet. It is obvious that his starting point must have been a Trajanic version of the "Flavian" toupet, where the sharp contrast between light and dark had already been brought out. This is confirmed by the appearance of the husband of this lady, who is wearing a short beard after the fashion of Hadrian. We must therefore conclude that so-called Flavian toupets occurred even as late as c. 117 A. D. and that the height of the toupet can hardly be accepted as a general criterion for the date of a portrait.

151. E.-A. 3056.

152. E.-A. 1675.

153. Photo Wiha 9014; Schneider, *Album*, pl. 15, 2.

portrait, is the style of the treatment of the hair. If we find a tendency to more rigid forms and sharper outlines, to strong contrasts of light and dark, there can hardly be any doubt about the Trajanic date of these portraits.¹⁵⁴ Obviously the "Flavian" headdress, which rests on quite different aesthetic conceptions, is not very suitable to a "Trajanic" treatment. Hence arise these hybrid, ungainly and too pretentious shapes, which have often and rightly been blamed.

The same development of style from the Flavian to the Trajanic age may be observed in other fields of art as well. The relief shows it clearly and decorative art follows it very convincingly. But this is not the place to go further into the matter.

Summing up the evidence of this long digression, we may accept as a fact that the headdress of the Capitoline portrait (Sala d. Colombe 16: Fig. 18), which stylistically belongs to the age of Trajan, agrees also with the prevailing fashion of this time. Adhering to a fundamentally simple type of coiffure, despising artificial aids, this lady nevertheless followed the general trend of fashion. The dating of the chalcedony head at Utrecht now no longer presents any difficulties. Its general character, its corkscrew curls, which form the little block-shaped locks, and even Steininger's criterion of the height of the headdress, all put it down as typically Trajanic. Another close parallel is to be found in the Vatican¹⁵⁵ and has been rightly assigned to the age of Trajan by Amelung. Both heads have a small detail in common. The rows of curls proper are separated from the forehead by a narrow flat band of short plain hair. As Steininger (pp. 44 f.) has pointed out, this is a typical characteristic of headdresses from the transitional period between Trajan and Hadrian.

* * *

Finally, we have to deal with the gems set into the binding of the Lebuinus Gospels.

The center is taken up by a fine head of milky-brown chalcedony, in its present state still measuring 4.92 cm. (Figs. 23-26). The occiput has been rudely chipped off, apparently in order to provide the head with a flat surface for the setting. The right ear has gone completely; some traces of the left ear are still preserved. A slight ridge under the chin indicates the beginning of the neck, although the position of the head hardly permits the supposition that it once belonged to a bust or even a statuette. Possibly it even formed

154. In support of his argument that the Flavian honeycomb toupet goes on under Trajan, Steininger (p. 42) has called attention to the headdress of the camilli on the reliefs between the capitals of Trajan's arch at Beneventum (for reproductions, see Steininger, *l. c.*, and the excellent photographs of Mosconi). It is true that the honeycomb toupet, though combined with the hair on the occiput hanging down, is worn by some of the boys. Here again, however, we find the Trajanic style of treatment. Steininger might have added that the same headdress is worn by a camillus in three scenes of sacrifice on the column of Trajan (LIH, Lehman-Hartleben, pl. 26; LXXXVI, *ibid.*, pl. 39 and XCIX, *ibid.*, pl. 45). We find, however, on the arch of Beneventum, as well as on Trajan's column (XCI, Lehman-Hartleben,

pl. 42), a variant of this headdress. Some of the camilli wear their hair in corkscrew curls, which produce the block-shaped locks. Obviously the honeycomb toupet here, as well as in private portraits, represents a survival of a fashion long since obsolete. Religious ceremonies in particular tend to be conservative, and the representations on the arch (see Drexel, *Philol. Wochenschr.*, 46, 1926, col. 157 f.)—not to speak of the scenes of sacrifice—doubtless show a religious practice. In this connection may be recalled the curious bust of a man in the Villa Albani (Arndt-Bruckmann, 729-730), who wears a lady's headdress of *Flavian* shape, treated in *Trajanic* style, although Arndt rejects any idea of a relation to the camilli on the Arch at Beneventum.

155. Sala d. Busti 335; Amelung, *Skulpt.*, II, pl. 72.

part of a vessel in precious stone, with plastic ornaments and emblems carved out of the material.¹⁵⁶

It represents a fat boy, still young but with a disagreeable, blasé expression on his face. The cheeks are puffy, the nose is flat and snub, the mouth tired, with heavy, sensual lips. The eyes, in which we observe the indication of the pupils by drill holes and the outlining of the iris, are turned lazily to the left. Altogether the boy is not a very fair representative of happy and innocent childhood. Of the hair only one lock is visible on the crown of the head. The rest is covered by a heavy corymbus, entwined by ribbons and enlivened here and there by schematic flowers and ivy leaves. This headdress and the type of the face suffice to identify the boy as a youthful Bacchus.

Works of art of this sort are difficult to date. Compared with similar sculptures of the later Empire, the technical command of the material is excellent. The subject and the way in which it is rendered seem to suggest a connection with Hellenistic art. Looking for parallels we are indeed continually led to the Orient. Other carvings in precious stone do not help us much, as their origin is usually unknown. Though Furtwängler¹⁵⁷ has already given an excellent survey of the most important sculptures in precious stone, some of these, especially important in connection with the Bacchus head, may be singled out again, and others which seem comparable may be added here. In the first place, I call attention to a youthful Bacchus, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.¹⁵⁸ This head seems to belong to the early Empire and reminds us of a child's portrait at Vienna,¹⁵⁹ which likewise is very similar to the Bacchus head at Utrecht. A glass paste representing a youthful Medusa, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,¹⁶⁰ shows the same, somewhat swollen treatment of the features. In this case their puffiness is all the more striking, because the opaque paste absorbs the light to a lower degree than the highly polished surface of the chalcedony. Apparently the material demands this exaggerating treatment.¹⁶¹ We may further mention a small head of Eros in the Wyndham Cook collection,¹⁶² a fragment of a chalcedony high-relief, which has some similarity with the Bacchus head at Utrecht, and is put down as a Greco-Roman work. It shows the same soft treatment of the surface. There seems to be a general tendency to assign these works of art, mainly on account of their good workmanship, to the first century of the Empire. The good technique alone, however, hardly justifies this, as we have been taught by the portrait of a Trajanic Lady at Utrecht that this technique was still excellent in the second century after Christ, and as a bust of Constantine in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁶³ proves that it lived on as long as at least the fourth century.

156. Cf. for instance the Dionysiac Kantharos at Paris; Babelon, *Camées antiques*, 368; and the magnificent vase in the Wyndham-Cook collection, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 61 f., No. 271; also *Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (1904), pls. CVI, CVII.

157. *Ant. Gemmen*, III, pp. 334 f.

158. Babelon, *Camées antiques*, 298; this head has been wrongly considered as a portrait of Annius Verus;

cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 334, 1; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonogr.*, II, 2, p. 199.

159. Eichler-Kris, *Die Kameen*, 115.

160. Babelon, *op. cit.*, 174.

161. Cf. also Smith-Hutton, *Catalogue Collect. Wyndham-Cook*, II, p. 64, No. 273.

162. *Catalogue*, II p. 64, No. 275; cf. also an Eros head, *Exhib. Burlington F. A. Club*, 1904, p. 54, pl. CXII.

163. Babelon, *op. cit.*, 309.

I may also call attention to the numerous phalerae, military medals in precious stone, glass, or ivory. The majority of this class is of considerably inferior quality;¹⁶⁴ a few exceptions,¹⁶⁵ well above the average, show indeed some similarity of treatment.

All these pieces hardly enable us to date or localize more precisely the Bacchus head at Utrecht. As remarked above, this object, though probably made in Roman times, in a general way recalls Hellenistic works. Of the minor arts, among which we may look for comparisons, coroplastics in the first place have to be taken into account. Although no absolute identity can be pointed out, nor indeed can be expected, as we are dealing here with two entirely different categories, some parallels point in the direction of Egypt, possibly even more in that of Asia Minor. I may call attention to some terra cottas in the Sieglin collection,¹⁶⁶ where we find a similar sort of corymbus and, above all, the same, somewhat puffy, fulness of features.¹⁶⁷ As a rule, however, these children, notwithstanding their fatness, seem more spirited than the little Bacchus at Utrecht. Bronzes from Egypt¹⁶⁸ representing a youthful Bacchus likewise seem more virile. On the other hand, some terra cottas from Asia Minor seem to wear the same blasé, vapid expression. By kind permission of Dr. Holwerda I reproduce here a terra cotta head in the Ryksmuseum at Leyden (Fig. 27), one example only of a whole series of similar heads, all from Smyrna; and I call attention also to some youthful heads from Myrina.¹⁶⁹ However, though these parallels rather recommend for our head an origin in Asia Minor, or at least in the Orient, they are far from proving it. The nearest approach to our Bacchus seems to me to be a bronze which passed through the hands of Dr. Pollak at Rome and has been published only by Reinach.¹⁷⁰ At the same time we must not forget that artists at Rome could do better than this rather insipid, superficial art: witness the magnificent Hercules *emblema* from one of the vessels of the Hildesheim find,¹⁷¹ which is usually ascribed to a Roman artist of the end of the first century B. C.

It seems impossible to assign the Bacchus head to a definite school and age. Its date may vary from the first to the third century after Christ; it may have come from the East or may have been made in the West. At any rate it belongs to the better class of rather rare sculptures in the round, executed in precious stone.

The Lebuinus Gospels contain two more, very curious gems, the portrait of a man (Utrecht I: Fig. 28) and that of a lady (Utrecht II: Fig. 29).

Utrecht I shows the broad head of a man with a remarkably blunt profile, turned to the left. The hair is indicated by a system of zigzag lines, the oblique eye is very large and heavily outlined in relief. On the crown of the head is a laurel wreath. The material is a

164. E. g., Babelon, *op. cit.*, 167, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175; Wyndham-Cook Catalogue II, p. 66, Nos. 281, 282, and 308-312; Berlin *Beschr. gesch. Steine*, 11065, 11059; Eichler-Kris, *Die Kameen*, 16, 17, 105-109, where further literature is given, to which Drexel, in *Antike Plastik* (W. Amelung), pp. 67 f. is to be added.

165. Cf. Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 336, fig. 182.

166. E. v. Sieglin, *Die gr-ägypt. Samml. E. v. Sieglin*, 2, Terrakotten by J. Vogt (Leipzig, 1924), p. 150, 2, pl. LXII, 2, p. 151, 10, pl. LXII, 10; p. 180, 2, pl. XC (middle).

167. Cf. also Perdrizet, *Terres-cuites grecques—Coll.*

Fouquet, pls. LXIV, LXV, LXXIII, and *passim*, and Kaufmann, *Graeco-Aegyptische Koroplastik*² (Finck, Leipzig, 1915), pls. 18-20, 41, No. 326.

168. Cf. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte* (1911), pl. V, p. 10; Perdrizet calls this type of youthful Dionysos "Eros dionysiaque" (*Archäol. Anz.*, 1906, col. 142 f., fig. 12).

169. Pottier and Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (1888), pls. XII, XIII, XVI, XX, 4 and 5, XXXIV, 3.

170. *Répert. Statuaire gr. et rom.*, IV, p. 70, 3.

171. Pernice and Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (1901), pp. 25 f., pl. III, Germania Romana, V, pl. XLIII, 5.



FIG. 28

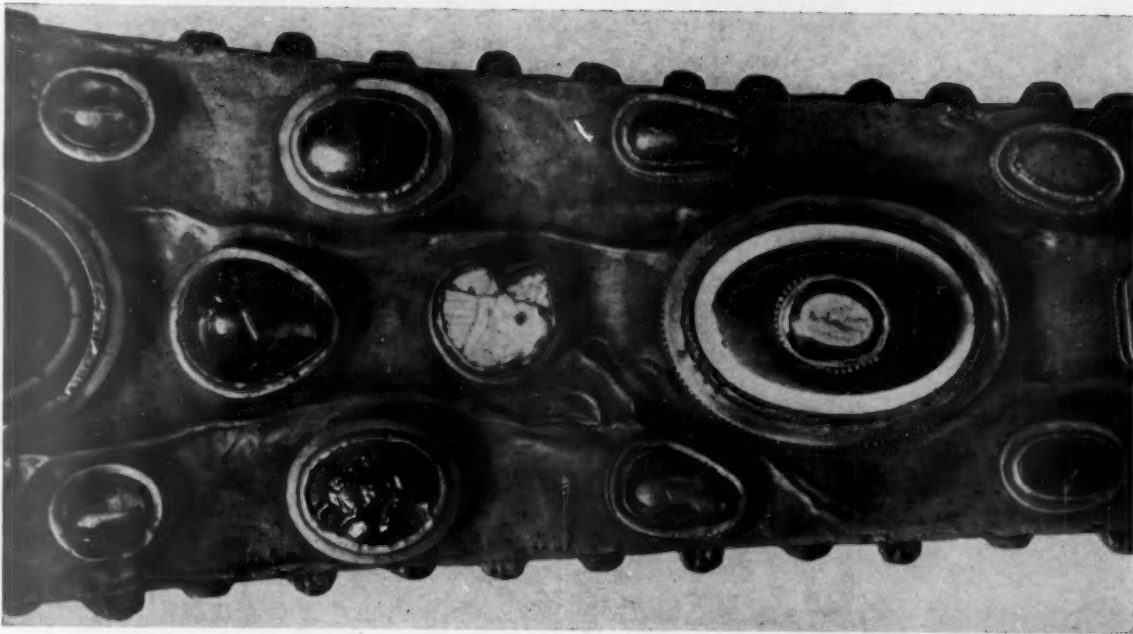


FIG. 30



FIG. 31



FIGS. 28, 29—Utrecht, Archiepiscopal Museum: Pseudo-Cameos on Evangelarium of St. Lebuinus
FIG. 30—St. Maurice d' Agaune: Pseudo-Cameo on Reliquary; FIGS. 31, 32—Brescia, Museum: Details of Cross

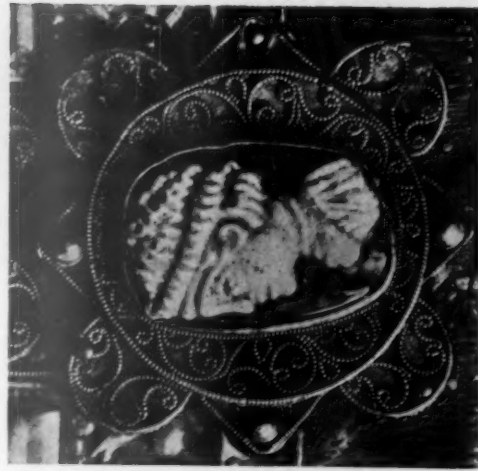


FIG. 29

FIG. 32



FIG. 33



FIG. 34

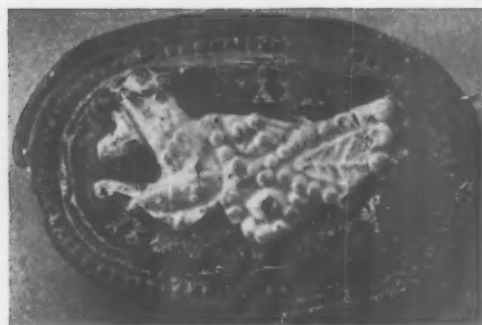


FIG. 35



FIG. 36



FIG. 37



FIG. 38



FIG. 39

FIGS. 33, 34—Mainz, *Municipal Museum*: *Pseudo-Cameo*; *Glass Cast of Coin*; FIG. 35—Nürnberg, *German Museum*: *Pseudo-Cameo*; FIGS. 36, 37, 38, 39—Brescia, *Museum*: *Details of Cross* (37, 38, 39, *after Casts*)

greyish-white, opaque glass paste. Utrecht II shows the same technique and represents a female portrait in the same style. The head is fixed on a dark-red, opaque ground, which shows darker streaks. This material, which looks somewhat like a piece of dull porphyry, is in fact a rare species of glass, already known in antiquity. It is called *Ziegelglas* or *Ziegelemail* by Kisa¹⁷² and survived the fall of the Roman Empire. In the workshops of Gaul it must have been generally known, as it is regularly applied to Gallic enameled fibulae. In the early Middle Ages it becomes dull, looking dirty and more brownish, as in our case. Probably the head Utrecht I was fixed on a similar background. I have, however, not been allowed to take this head out of its setting. The measurements are, for Utrecht I, 4.25 x 2.86 cm.; for Utrecht II, 3.58 x 2.57 cm., taken within the settings.

These pieces are so striking that we should expect to have little trouble in finding parallels. This, however, is not the case. I have been able to trace only three portraits executed in the same technique, though for several years I have been on the lookout for them and I have consulted a good many colleagues. In the beginning Mr. Dalton called my attention to the Reliquary of St. Maurice d'Agaune, republished in 1912 by Conway,¹⁷³ the latter deals briefly with the pseudo-cameo in the center of the front (Fig. 30), which he hesitatingly ascribes to the fifth century. The only parallel he knows of is "a cameo of somewhat similar facture on a twelfth century German binding of a gospels in Utrecht Museum" (p. 264). Mr. Dalton also pointed out to me the cross at Brescia, remembering that he had seen on it similar pieces. Through the kind offices of Prof. Delbrück at Bonn and especially of Signor Giorgio Nicodemi, Director of the Museum at Brescia, I got good photographs of the cross. Signor Nicodemi supplied me with all necessary information and even with a set of casts of some of the most important pieces. On the back of the cross I found indeed a pseudo-cameo of similar make, though apparently of somewhat earlier date (Fig. 32), whereas on the face of the cross there occurred a small fragment of a similar gem (Fig. 31, center, Fig. 39).

The cameo of St.-Maurice shows a head with a helmet of singular shape, for which I have not been able to find parallels. Round the helmet there appears to be a laurel wreath. The white head is fixed on a dark ground,¹⁷⁴ which also is the case with the specimen on the back of the cross at Brescia. This gem represents a draped female bust. In the hair a laurel wreath with reversed leaves is to be seen. The specimen Utrecht II (Fig. 29), with its dark-red ground, also is clearly an imitation of a cameo. This technical detail enables us to add two other pieces, though their representation is entirely different, viz., two pseudo-cameos, one in the German Museum at Nürnberg (Fig. 35) and one in the Municipal Museum at Mainz (Fig. 33).¹⁷⁵ The specimen at Nürnberg¹⁷⁶ still has its original setting, a narrow-rimmed bronze brooch; apparently the specimen at Mainz¹⁷⁷ also served as the ornament of a brooch or fibula, as on its back traces of oxidation are still visible. We shall

172. Kisa, *Das Glas*, III, pp. 277 f.

173. *Burlington Mag.*, XXI (1912), pp. 258 f., pl. II. My sincerest thanks are due to M. le Chanoine Dénériaz, who kindly put at my disposition excellent photographs of the reliquary and the gem.

174. According to Babelon, *Hist. d. l. gravure sur gemmes en France*, p. 14, it is an imitation of an agate with three layers. On the photograph I can only distinguish

two layers. The dark spots on the white head seem to me to be only dirt.

175. Dr. Zeiss (Frankfort) kindly called my attention to these specimens. They are published here with kind permission of Professors Neeb (Mainz) and Zimmermann (Nürnberg).

176. Found in a Frankish tomb at Mettlach, near Saarbrücken.

177. Found at Mainz.

later return to the interpretation of these gems, which is far from obvious. The specimen at Mainz, which I have been able to examine, has the figure in a green-grey, opaque paste on a dark-red ground, similar to that of Utrecht II. Both the example at Mainz and that at Nürnberg have the peculiarity that the rim is marked by a border of triangular gold leaves, fixed into the ground.

It is well known that in Roman times artificial precious stones were produced by the glass industry and made into intaglios and cameos.¹⁷⁸ But our pseudo-cameos have certainly not been carved. The specimen at St.-Maurice is usually considered as *verre filé*,¹⁷⁹ or else it is supposed that the head consists of white enamel, applied by means of the blow pipe.¹⁸⁰ If this were true, we should expect, however, a surface much more blurred than is the case now. An observation which I made when discussing the Mainz specimen with Prof. Behrens may possibly help to clear up this technical point: the tiny gold leaves in the ground are in some places enveloped by the dark-red glass. This can only be explained if we assume the following technical process. In a fireproof modeling clay the matrix of the white figure is molded, either by pressing in a model or by modeling. On the broad border of the mold the gold leaves are arranged after the required pattern. Then the mold is filled with the opaque, white paste and left to set for a moment. While the white paste is setting the dark-red glass which is to form the background is poured on. This runs round the gold leaves, fixing them, and coalesces with the back of the white figure. This process would explain another technical detail as well. The outline of the figures is slightly raised and does not cohere directly with the ground. The white paste, when poured into the mold, would naturally grow cold, set and contract first at the borders, where it touches the mold, and would there refuse to coalesce with the red background. In the middle, however, where the white paste remains liquid for a longer time, the coalescence between the two layers would be particularly close.

This technical process is nothing new. As early as the beginning of the Empire it was regularly applied, as has been shown by Dr. Kutsch¹⁸¹ when dealing with some typical examples of cast cameos which were found in the Roman camp at Mainz and must be dated c. 69 A. D. Kutsch has assumed that these glass cameos were brought to the Rhine from Italy by Roman soldiers or dealers. This may, of course, be true, but, on the other hand, we must not forget that an extremely competent glass industry flourished on the Rhine; that the products of the glass workers in Gaul and Spain, according to Pliny,¹⁸² were equal to the Italian glass; and that the Celts in France enjoyed, even in Rome, a high reputation as enamel workers.¹⁸³ Part of this handicraft and technical ability must at least have survived the fall of the Roman Empire.¹⁸⁴ There is abundant evidence for this assumption and I shall cite only one example, chosen because it seems to be directly connected with the pieces under consideration. Together with the Mainz cameo was found what seems to be a cast of a Merovingian coin (Fig. 34). This object was cast in the same opaque, green-grey paste as the figure on the Mainz cameo. Both, along with a bronze

178. Blümner, *Technologie*, IV, pp. 391 f.

179. Babelon, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

180. Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

181. *Germania*, IV (1920) pp. 78 f.

182. *Natur. Hist.* XXXVI, 66 (194).

183. See Blümner, *Technologie*, IV, p. 409; glass was

frequently used in the la-Tène period; cf. Henkel, *Römische Fingerringe des Rheinlandes*, pp. 256 f.

184. Cf. Fowler, in *Archaeologia*, XLVI (1880), pp. 89 f. In the early Middle Ages Jewish glass workers may also have been responsible for the continuity of the technique; cf. Kisa, *Das Glas*, I, pp. 99 f.

cross and a bronze quatrefoil, which seem to be early Carolingian, have been published by Lindenschmit.¹⁸⁵ The cast of the coin, however, seems rather to imitate an *early* Merovingian model. I have not been able to define it more closely. This object equally proves that a certain knowledge of the technical handling of glass—at least enough to produce pseudo-cameos of the sort we are dealing with—was alive between the fall of the Roman Empire and the rise of the Carolingian dynasty. I may also recall what has been said about the “Alsen gems.” These, too, prove the survival of some technical skill in the West, and in the country north of the Alps. Of course this does not imply that the same technical ability did not exist south of the Alps and in the East. Kutsch has already called attention to this fact and a necklace such as No. 2745 of the British Museum,¹⁸⁶ with a glass imitation of a sardonyx, dating from the third century after Christ certainly seems to be of Oriental origin. I do not wish to do more than to point out that specimens of this type may as well have originated from western Europe. Since all the pieces we have dealt with belong to the West and partly even have been found in the soil, since, further, as far as I am aware, similar pieces have not yet turned up in the East,¹⁸⁷ there certainly is a sound *prima facie* case for the assumption that they were made in western Europe, the more so, because there are no technical reasons to the contrary.

We have now to consider the date of these pseudo-cameos and shall first deal with the scanty external evidence. The specimen at Mainz (Fig. 33), as has been indicated above, was found together with two bronze objects of Carolingian style and a glass cast of a coin which seems to be earlier. The brooch at Nürnberg (Fig. 35), according to tradition, comes from a Frankish tomb at Metlach, near Trèves. The cameo of St.-Maurice (Fig. 30) is obviously at latest contemporary with the reliquary. It forms the center of the ornamental design on the front, and, as apparently it was considered as a costly gem, it may well be older. To attain a *terminus ante quem*, it is of some importance to date this reliquary as precisely as possible. Conway simply calls it Merovingian. Molinier¹⁸⁸ is more precise and more cautious: he hesitates between the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries. Although he fully recognizes the Merovingian character of the reliquary, he calls attention to the fact that its treatment of the enamel, strongly recalling the old *verroterie* technique, rather points to the very end of the eighth century, when the new technique came into more general use. This date approximately agrees with the results reached by Rosenberg¹⁸⁹ in his technical researches, so that we may accept the eighth century as the date of origin of this reliquary.¹⁹⁰ For another reason also it is important to us. The inscription on the back, running: TEUDERICUS PRESBITER IN HONORE SCI MAURICII FIERI IUSSIT AMEN NORDOALUS ET RIHLINDIS ORDENARUNT FABRIGARE UNDIHO ET ELLO FICERUNT, proves that the shrine was made by Northern “barbarians” and for them, and that for these Northern craftsmen towards the end of the eighth century, a pseudo-cameo, as used here, ranked with genuine antique intaglios and other precious stones.

185. *West-Deutsche Zeitschr.*, XXII, pl. 9, Nos. 9-12; pp. 419 f.

186. See *Catalogue, Jewelry*, 2745. See also Kutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

187. I have consulted several colleagues, well acquainted with Oriental museums but have not been able

to elicit information about similar works. Some even thought they might be false.

188. *Histoire gén. des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, IV, *L'orfèvrerie*, pp. 24 f.

189. Zellenschmelz, III, *Die Frühdenkmäler*, pp. 63 f.

190. Clemen, *Bonner Jahrb.*, Vol. 92 (1892), p. 39, seems to date it considerably earlier (seventh century).

The same may be derived from the fact that two specimens of this technique occur on the cross at Brescia. The dating of this monument is much disputed. It has often been said to have belonged to Galla Placidia, though there is no proof at all for this opinion, as has been shown by de Mély.¹⁹¹ The date he proposes for it—ninth century—seems rather late. The cross has been repeatedly repaired, but among those gems which were set into the surface by the original artist, were our two pseudo-cameos.¹⁹² Even then the smaller gem was already damaged, as witnesses the fact that the setting has been adjusted to the damaged rim (Fig. 39). Accepting for a moment the date proposed by de Mély, we may therefore conclude that in the ninth century these glass cameos, even when damaged, were highly valued. This makes it probable that in the ninth century they had already a certain age.

If we return now to the Lebuinus Gospels, our starting point cannot be the date of its restoration. We may rather accept the view that the pseudo-cameos belonged already to the original binding, though of course there is no proof that this binding was contemporary with the Carolingian manuscript.

All in all, the external evidence seems to show that these gems existed already in Carolingian times and were made earlier. This is also the opinion of Babelon, who calls the St.-Maurice cameo Merovingian,¹⁹³ and of Dalton, who assigned the Utrecht specimens to the same age. It is, however, difficult to prove that this date is correct, because no definite Merovingian parallels for the style and technique of these pieces can be adduced. Dr. Zeiss, of the German Archaeological Institute at Frankfort, who is giving special attention to the Merovingian period, therefore declines to accept them as Merovingian and would rather believe that they were made about the fifth century. In a letter to me he gave it as his opinion that the cameos might possibly originate from some Oriental center. On the other hand, Prof. R. Delbrück, though also rejecting their Merovingian origin, considered them to be late Roman, provincial work, possibly from Gaul or Spain and comparable with Celtic coins. Finally, Prof. Pazaurek, without giving an opinion about their date, thought an Eastern and a Western origin for these gems equally possible. He suggested that they might be imitations of ivory reliefs or metal work, though he could not cite any likely examples.

I have given this anthology out of many opinions, because their divergence clearly shows that the gems in question have not yet found their definite place in the history of art.

If we wish to define more closely the date and origin of these singular works of art, it seems advisable to deal first with the five portraits and then to consider the Mainz and Nürnberg specimens.

All portraits show at once some striking, definitely "barbarian" characteristics: the big, almond-shaped, heavily outlined, oblique eye with protruding eyeball; the zigzag treatment of the hair and the wreath; the general rigidity of the features and of the folds

191. *Aréthuse*, III (1926), pp. 5 f.

192. M. Nicodemi informs me that a head of Athena, next to the head in question, is also a white glass paste on a black ground. To judge by the photograph it does not belong to our series. If indeed it is a glass cameo, it is certainly antique and not cast, but cut by the wheel like an ordinary cameo.

193. Conway, *Burlington Mag.*, XXI (1912), p. 264, hesitatingly assigns it to the fifth century. M. S. Reinach informed me by letter that he considers the Utrecht cameos as late Roman (fourth-fifth century) of inferior quality.

of the drapery. Nevertheless, it is obvious that they follow examples of a freer naturalism, which belong to classical antiquity, albeit in its latest phase. The evident imitation of cameos points in the same direction.

When trying to define this style, we naturally turn to a comparison with barbarian coins, where Greek and Roman examples were imitated on a large scale. The Celts and, later, in the times of the migrations and the Merovingian age, other tribes followed this custom. Thanks to the excellent work of Forrer on Celtic numismatics,¹⁹⁴ the Celtic material can be easily surveyed. Merovingian numismatics prove to be rather a tangle for a stranger in this field. I have therefore contented myself with the comprehensive manual of H. de Belfort, *Monnaies Mérovingiennes* (1892-93).¹⁹⁵

If, working back from our *terminus ante quem*, we begin with the latter, we find, as a matter of fact, that Merovingian coins repeatedly show symptoms of barbarization similar to those on the pseudo-cameos. Again and again we find the big, almond-shaped, oblique eyes, a shape which apparently finds its origin in an exaggeration of the Constantinian and post-Constantinian treatment of the eye. The shape of the ear, which on the cameos recalls a thick lentil, without indication of any details, returns on the coins as well.¹⁹⁶ A definite parallel to the zigzag treatment of the hair I have not been able to trace, and owing to the antique models, usually belonging to the fourth or later centuries, heads with a laurel wreath are rare. The pearl diadem, however, occurs in all stages of degeneration. On several coins we find two or three dotted lines round the neck, which may perhaps represent degenerated necklaces, but possibly owe their existence to a repetition of drapery folds no longer understood as such. A similar process of degeneration may be observed if we look at our pseudo-cameos in the order: Brescia I, St.-Maurice, Utrecht II, Utrecht I. Both the Utrecht heads have relief lines round the neck, one having two, the other three. On Utrecht I these lines do not encircle the neck, but seem to be placed against the throat. It is noteworthy that something similar occurs on Merovingian coins of the sixth and seventh centuries. In some cases the neck is outlined by a straight line in relief, underneath which a pearl line is to be seen.¹⁹⁷ A coin, struck at Soissons (Elafius),¹⁹⁸ shows a relief line not quite encircling the neck. Later coins of a more degenerated type unite the necklace line and the base line of the neck into a sharp angle,¹⁹⁹ or, together with the folds of the drapery into an elaborate system of relief lines, comparable to that on the St.-Maurice cameo. On coins of this period we also find the rare examples of heads wearing laurel wreaths. The mutilated legends prove them to be imitations of the Roman PAX.²⁰⁰ The laurel wreath shows some similarity with those on the pseudo-cameos. Helmeted heads hardly occur at all. I cite only one example, a coin of Massilia (Antenor), probably an imitation of the Dea Roma.²⁰¹ It is noteworthy that here, as on the St.-Maurice cameo, the border of the helmet is indicated by a continuous relief line. On the whole, the coins struck during the sixth and seventh centuries, and especially those which originate from more southern regions, show most points of similarity, though it cannot be overlooked that

194. *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein-und Donaulande*, 1908.

195. I want to express my special thanks to Messrs. Schulman, who kindly put at my disposal the necessary numismatic works.

196. Belfort, *op. cit.*, 2314 and *passim*.

197. *Ibid.*, 659.

198. *Ibid.*, 675.

199. *Ibid.*, 676, 677.

200. *Ibid.*, 652, 654, 655.

201. *Ibid.*, 2677.

the artistic quality of the pseudo-cameos is on a considerably higher level than that of the coins. Notwithstanding some points of contact between the Merovingian coins and the pseudo-cameos, it is impossible to date and localize the latter more definitely with the aid of the former.

Our scepticism only increases when we pass on to the Celtic coins. They extend over a long period and a very wide area.²⁰² Their artistic quality is determined by the degree of dependence on the Greek or Roman coinage. As the distance between the Celtic mint and the South grows, the symptoms of barbarization and degeneration continually increase. The Roman Empire with its own coinage, ever pushing forward, gradually reduced the range of the Celtic coins, though they always circulated in the borderland and outside the boundaries, up to the times of the migrations and were even minted again in this period.²⁰³ During the decline of the Empire a Renaissance may even be noticed and the Celtic coins penetrated farther South.²⁰⁴ There is thus a certain continuity.

When looking through these series we find again and again the "barbarian eye," even in pre-Christian times. The zigzag treatment of the hair is shown by Pannonian imitations of coins of Philip of Macedon,²⁰⁵ and, in the second and first centuries B. C. in Gaul, on golden staters of the Leuci,²⁰⁶ with a more or less degenerated head of Apollo. One of these effigies is already considerably more barbarized than the heads on our pseudo-cameos. The curious long locks behind the ear which we find on the cameo Utrecht I are paralleled on Noric-Pannonian silver coins (c. 40 B. C.) imitating consular denarii with the head of Honos.²⁰⁷ Parallels to the helmeted head of St.-Maurice may be found on silver coins of Gaul of the first century B. C., though the shape of the helmet is not identical, and the laurel wreath, which apparently is wound round the helmet on the St.-Maurice cameo, is unparalleled.²⁰⁸ The question arises, whether this detail does not point in another direction. The vertical attitude of the head on Utrecht I and II decidedly reminds us of late Roman coins. On the St.-Maurice cameo, however, the head, pushed forward, rather recalls the effigies of Hellenistic coins. The type of Alexander with the lion's skin was frequently imitated on Celtic coins, but a comparison with the St.-Maurice head proves to be useless. With the Celts on the Danube, however, we find imitations of Thasian coins with the head of Dionysos, wearing an ivy wreath. This degenerated and barbarized head indeed shows a certain similarity with the St.-Maurice cameo.²⁰⁹

What follows from these partial and often vague similarities? An experiment, made by Forrer, warns us to proceed with particular caution. Forrer took some reproductions of Greek coin types and had his children and some uneducated people copy these, using the copy of each successive draftsman as a model for his follower. After five or six stages he reached a result which could hardly be recognized, but which corresponded very closely with the effigies on Celtic coins and showed a suspicious similarity to the so-called Celtic

202. Apart from his book, quoted above, Forrer has given more or less extensive surveys in his own *Reallexikon*, pp. 509 f., and in Ebert's *Reallexikon der Vorgesch.*, s. v. *Keltisches Münzwesen*. An inspection of A. Heiss, *Description gén. des Monnaies Antiques de l'Espagne* (1870), did not yield any definite results.

203. Forrer, *Kelt. Numism.*, pp. 294 f.

204. *Ibid.*, pp. 138 f.

205. *Ibid.*, pls. XXXI, XXXVI, 323.

206. *Ibid.*, nos. 445, 456; pp. 253, 258; Blanchet-Dieudonné, *Manuel de Numismat. française*, I, pp. 14 f.

207. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f., pl. XXXVIII.

208. *Ibid.*, pls. XVI, XVII, XVIII, 49; Blanchet-Dieudonné, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

209. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 226 f., figs. 405, 406, 411.

style.²¹⁰ This experiment clearly shows the danger of overrating partial stylistic similarities between the coins and the pseudo-cameos. The Celtic no more than the Merovingian coins enable us to place the pseudo-cameos accurately. But we may conclude that they are the products of non-Roman, barbarian artists, made under the influence of Roman models, which possibly were already considerably watered down by a process of repeated copying.

Works of art like the pseudo-cameos are extremely rare. Babelon, it is true, somewhat vaguely mentions "*un certain nombre d'autres échantillons de faux camées du même genre,*" but he cites only one example, a small ram's head in three colors, which is not cast, but has been executed in the technique of *verre filé* and does not belong to our class. We have already pointed out that the same technique of casting was applied in the beginning of the Empire,²¹¹ and called attention to the fact that the glass industry and some technical skill were never entirely lost, not even in the darkest ages. In Italy, especially in northern Italy, where Venice, quite early, played an important part, we may certainly assume a continuity of technical skill. But are there any products of this skill to bridge the gulf between later Roman times and our pseudo-cameos?²¹²

There is a coherent group of pieces which were made in a very similar fashion and which have hitherto been neglected. Among the gems set into the cross at Brescia there is a series of eighteen monochrome glass pastes, which have all been cast and may possibly represent copies of cameos. Nine of these show a male portrait head, five a bird, and four a sea monster, with wide-open mouth, short forelegs and a twisted tail ending in a fin. We shall first deal with the nine portrait heads, which, curiously enough, are identical (Figs. 36, 37). In some cases the background has come out a bit larger, but the bust is always of the same size. Four of these pieces are blue, one light green, one black, two violet, and one is made of an opaque, light-blue paste. The material of this last piece seems to be very similar to the whitish paste of our pseudo-cameos. The five birds and the four sea monsters (Fig. 38), which among themselves are identical, again, occur in the same colors, and also in yellow glass. Obviously, we have before us the products of an industry which produced several casts of differently colored glass after a given model. Now it can hardly be accidental that reproductions of three different types occur in such considerable numbers on this cross. If, indeed, they were as common as that, they ought to be found elsewhere too in some quantities. But this is not the case. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that these pieces must have been made at the same time and at the same place as the cross of Brescia. Besides, with one exception, which may be due to later repair, they are all mounted in the original fashion, with smooth borders on a raised background. If, then, we can localize and date the type of this portrait head, we shall probably reach a more accurate dating of the cross of Brescia as well.

Some of the specimens are rather badly cast, showing air bubbles and irregularities. But combining the details of the different replicas, we find that, in a barbarian and rude way, the representation shows the bust of an emperor. Round the head is a pearl diadem, the ear has been indicated schematically, the eye is large and set rather high, the cheek bones are high. Round the neck appears a dotted line, underneath a part of the bust,

210. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 f., figs. 96, 97.

211. Kutsch, *Germania*, IV (1920), p. 78; cf. *Germania Romana*,³ V, pl. XVIII, 1.

212. On the parallels, mentioned by Babelon, cf. *Hist. d. l. grav. s. gemmes*, p. 14, 2, and Babelon, *Cat. d. camées*, p. 92, No. 187, pl. XIX.

ornamented with a spiral pattern. The head is massive and square, and rather too big for the slender shoulders. Though elements of barbarization are unmistakable, the expression is still convincing and, on the whole, a certain naturalism still prevails. If we look for parallels, the heads of post-Constantinian emperors on coins suggest themselves for comparison. Here, too, we often find heads and features unduly heavy, but they are nevertheless lighter and more elegant and the shoulders never shrink into an insignificant, ornamental pedestal for the head. Besides, the shape of the head and the way in which the diadem is worn are different. Usually the face is more elongated and the diadem slopes backward. The face on the glass casts is broad and heavy-jawed, with a wide, protruding upper lip. The diadem is worn almost horizontally. Nevertheless, there are some coins of Justinian, not struck at Constantinople,²¹³ on which the shoulders are more or less atrophied and the general character of the head has undergone a change. I particularly call attention to coins of Justinian struck at Rome,²¹⁴ on which the head shows the same massive and broad character as the glass casts, where even the shape of the skull is extremely similar and the diadem is put on almost horizontally. Besides, the shoulders have shrunk into an almost decorative base for the heavy-set neck. The similarity between these coins and the glass casts goes so far that it must be more than accidental, although the glass casts show a further stage of barbarization. Now, if we look at the coins of the Ostrogoths and their successors in Italy, the Langobards, the former seem to follow more closely and intelligently their Byzantine examples, while the latter seem rather more barbarous. Still, this does not imply that the glass casts could not have been made in the first period of the Langobard reign. The Ostrogoths had very eagerly absorbed what little was left of Roman civilization in Italy, and, most probably, some tradition of arts and crafts, carefully fostered by them, survived their downfall. In the beginning of the seventh century the Langobard queen Theodelinda (d. 625) was able to dedicate to St. John the Baptist a most luxuriously bound volume of the Gospels, still preserved at Monza. The cross which hangs from a votive crown in the same treasure, by its shape and decoration, reminds us particularly of the cross of Brescia. Gold-plated crosses seem to be characteristic of this period.²¹⁵ The glass casts are too large to be direct imitations of coins. There must have been another model and I venture to surmise that it was in precious stone. Among those *ἀδέρματα* which occur, two pieces are particularly striking: two small heads carved in cornelian and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.²¹⁶ No. 321 in particular shows the same massive type with square face and a bullet-shaped skull. The eyes are wide-set and large, the hair lying close on the head. As a model for our glass casts, however, a cameo seems to be more likely. Among the published material of this period—it has practically all been dealt with by Babelon—I have not been able to find examples which fit the case exactly, but the specimen Bibliothèque Nationale No. 29²¹⁷ is a fairly near approach to the bold, somewhat crude carving shown by the glass casts at Brescia, which seem to stand midway between this example and the so-called Crispus, son of Constantine, of the Bibliothèque Nationale.²¹⁸ The latter piece, on account of the

213. Sabbatier, *Description gén. d. Monnaies byzant.*, I, pl. XIV, 7 and 8.

214. Wroth, *Catal. of the coins of the Vandals, Ostrogoths, etc.* (1911), pl. XV, 7 and 8.

215. Kraus, *Geschichte d. christ. Kunst*, I, pp. 593 f.

216. Babelon, *Catal. d. camées*, Nos. 321, 322; better reproductions in Babelon, *Hist. d. l. gravure s. gemmes*, pl. I, 3 and 4.

217. See Babelon, *Hist. d. l. gravure*, pl. I, 2.

218. Babelon, *Catal. d. camées*, 311, pl. XXXVII.

treatment of the eye and its general character, must be assigned to a considerably later date.²¹⁹ When trying to reach more definite date, we have to take as our starting point the glass casts at Brescia. If we accept their connection with the coin type of Justinian, our *terminus post quem*, roughly speaking, lies about the middle of the sixth century. Soon after, the frontal type prevails on coins. If we allow another fifty years for the further barbarization of this type, we might then assign the prototype of our glass casts to the beginning of the seventh century. The glass casts themselves must then be assigned to the first half of the seventh century. For reasons set forth above, the glass casts and the cross of Brescia must be contemporary. This must therefore date from the seventh rather than from the ninth century.²²⁰

By the date of the cross of Brescia the date of the pseudo-cameos set into it is pushed back also. Both have the original setting and were mounted in the cross when this was made. They were, however, comparatively rare and apparently of older date. This is proved by the fact that the smaller specimen (Fig. 39) was already considerably damaged and yet was placed on the cross in a mounting specially adapted to the damaged rim. The treatment of the hair of this head (Brescia II) distinguishes it from the other pseudo-cameos. On the top the single tresses are still indicated and long, naturalistic curls hang down behind the ears. Nevertheless, there are distinct traces of an incipient barbarization, notably in the big almond-shaped eyes with heavy, plastic eyelids. The closest parallel to this head is the cameo representing the so-called Crispus,²²¹ which on account of the shape of the helmet and the treatment of the hair I should ascribe to the end of the fifth century rather than to the fourth. This cameo probably is a product of Italian skill under the reign of the Ostrogoths. A further stage of barbarization is represented by Brescia II; the hair shows the zigzag treatment, the laurel wreath has the leaves reversed. On account of the close relation of this head to antique models in the treatment of the drapery, as well as in the *mise-en-page* of the whole, it also probably originates from Italy. I am inclined to ascribe it to the beginning of the sixth century. The cross of Brescia can hardly be localized outside of Italy and this implies that the glass casts, the portrait heads, as well as the birds and sea monsters, were also made in Italy, probably in northern Italy. These attributions rest largely on the connection of the pieces in hand with antique art. For the other pseudo-cameos, however, this consideration does not weigh so heavily. The direct influence of ancient art is not so obvious and, moreover, northern Italy was all but insulated from central Europe. Besides, as has been pointed out, there remained in central Europe an ability in glass working sufficient to enable artists to imitate these products of Italian skill. As the pseudo-cameos we are to deal with now show a much higher degree of barbarization than those I have called Italian, I think that we may consider several centers north of the Alps, where similar gems were produced. The St.-Maurice cameo; for instance, obviously imitates a helmet as worn by the so-called Crispus. The artist kept approximately to its outline, but he did not quite understand what was meant. The space left for the ear appears in the St.-Maurice piece too, but its use has not

219. The specimens Bib. Nat. 30 (see repr. *Hist. de la grav. s. gemmes*, pl. I, 1) and in a fibula from Charnay (repr. *ibid.*, I, 10) seem to be later and may really be Merovingian.

220. As proposed by de Mély, *Aréthuse*, III (1926), pp. 5 f.

221. Babelon, *Catal. d. camées*, Bib. Nat. 311.

been understood. Besides, the whole helmet is covered with the well-known zigzag pattern. We find, here too, the oblique eye and it seems very dubious whether the meaning of the paludamentum, worn round the shoulders, has been clearly understood. The Utrecht cameos, the technique of which is identical and which therefore cannot be separated one from another, are still further removed from antique models. They probably belong to a local school still more distant from Italy. Though the coins have taught us that we cannot draw chronological conclusions from the symptoms of progressing barbarization, and that these symptoms have often to be explained from geography alone, the pseudo-cameos form such a well-defined, technical group, that there is a strong probability of this technical process having spread from one center. This center may have been in Italy. At any rate, the process of casting cameos had been known there for a longer time than north of the Alps. If, therefore, we take Italy as the starting point of this industry, we may suppose that the other specimens were made either in Gaul or on the Rhine, and that they belong to the second half of the sixth or to the beginning of the seventh century.

Finally, we have still to deal with the pseudo-cameos at Mainz and Nürnberg. What do they represent? On each can be recognized a head with wide-open mouth, short forelegs and a vaguely indicated tail, ending in a triple webbed fin. These data suffice to define a sea monster, though strongly barbarized. The shapeless projections on the back of the Mainz monster can only be wings and apparently some rudiments of wings are also preserved on the back of the monster at Nürnberg. On the Mainz cameo some dotted lines seem still to retain a memory of the coils of the twisted tail. On the Nürnberg cameo this is less convincing, though on the whole this specimen makes a clearer impression, suggestive of greater care. Both were found in the Rhineland and the characteristic decoration of the background with inlaid gold foil makes it impossible to separate these pieces from one another. Here, too, we have before us imitations of cameos, but real, ancient cameos can hardly have served as models. The decoration of the background rather proves that these works of art must be regarded as independent products of a skillful glass industry, only inspired by far-away memories of real cameos. Besides, their style and representation are so barbarized that the connection with ancient representations can hardly be recognized.

Still, similar ancient representations were fairly common. I call attention to only the most popular among them, the hippocamp. The enormous mass of evidence has been carefully sifted and put in order by Lamer,²²² and extends from Mycenaean to late Roman times, on all sorts of monuments. Hippocamps, with or without Nereids, are most numerous on seal stones, so numerous that Lamer²²³ takes the precaution to point out that they have nothing whatever to do with afterlife and apply "*nur auf beruflicher oder sonstiger Beziehung zum Meere.*" This is, of course, Lamer's personal opinion, and unproved. The fact that hippocamps, and sea monsters generally, have been used repeatedly as a decoration of tombs,²²⁴ rather points in the opposite direction. However, we are not concerned with these questions here, nor need we try to classify these hybrid monsters into sea lions, sea bulls, sea griffins, sea boars, all winged or wingless, or simply sea dragons of every variety. Suffice it to cite some examples from Imperial times, which clearly show the characteristic tail, the head, the forepaws and sometimes wings. I will name only a

222. In Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklop.*, s. v. *Hippokamp*.

223. *Loc. cit.*, col. 1771.

224. E. Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, p. 215; Carcopino, *Basiliques Pythagoriciennes*, pp. 297 f.

cippus of M. Antonius Chrysogonus in the Conservatori²²⁵ with a sea griffin on the principal face (Flavian?) and some cameos in the Bibliothèque Nationale²²⁶ and at Vienna,²²⁷ of which No. 73, a late Roman cameo is particularly noteworthy, as it shows a winged hippocamp, well on its way to become a symbol, no longer understood, a hieroglyph capable of possessing an esoteric meaning.

A very extensive group is formed by the provincial monuments of Gaul and Germany, which show sea monsters of every description. They have been collected by Espérandieu in his admirable *Recueil* and may be easily looked up with the aid of his index (s. v. *monstres marins, lion marin, panthère marine, sanglier marin, taureau marin, etc.*). Some representations of sea panthers and sea lions, with their short forepaws and blunt muzzles, require special attention, because these shapes return on our cameos.²²⁸ In some cases, as, e. g., on the monument of Igel,²²⁹ a host of all varieties has been combined; the monsters occur with or without wings. Sometimes we even notice the signs of incipient barbarization, when the coils of the tail are no longer understood as such, and it becomes clear that the monsters do not represent so much a mythological being, as a petrified symbol perhaps possessed of a definite esoteric meaning.²³⁰ The fact that these motives form a standing feature of funeral monuments points in the same direction. There must have been more in these representations than simply a memory of marine occupations, as they survive classical antiquity and in the later Middle Ages, promoted to "dragons," enjoy a new vogue of popularity in Germany, in a time when hardly anybody had anything to do with the sea. We cannot go deeper into this matter here. Suffice it to call attention to the fact that on Christian monuments, as, e. g., the Schottenkirche at Regensburg,²³¹ the Minster of Bâle,²³² the Michaeliskirche at Altenstadt,²³³ the churches at Andlau²³⁴ and Erwitte²³⁵ (in Westphalia), and on a doorpost at Speyer,²³⁶ "dragons" occur which look uncommonly like our sea monsters.

We must return to earlier specimens. As an example of the transition from a mythological, hybrid monster to a petrified symbol with a general, probably eschatological meaning, we may consider a fragment of a gold glass, found in a Christian catacomb of the third to fourth century, representing a Nereid riding on a sea stag.²³⁷ A further stage of degeneration is shown by the four glass casts in the cross of Brescia, where we easily recognize a sea monster, without being able to decide whether a sea horse or possibly a sea griffin is meant. At any rate, this monster belongs to the winged variety. Here already the long-stretched fish tail shows a row of little knobs. On the Mainz and Nürnberg cameos these knobs have grown into a system of small globes, covering most of the body. The glass casts at Brescia, the sea monsters as well as the birds, which probably descend from the Roman eagle, must be dated in the beginning of the seventh century, for the reasons given in connection with the glass-cast portrait heads.

225. Stuart-Jones, *Catalogue*, p. 153, No. 37a, pl. 54; cf. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

226. Babelon, *Cat. d. camées*, 54, 55, 56, 117.

227. Eichler-Kris, *Die Kameen*, 55.

228. Espérandieu, *Recueil général*, 103, 486, 3182, 3525, 3526, 4054, 4261, 5147, 5177, 5419, 5421, 5833, 6081, 7196.

229. *Ibid.*, 5268.

230. *Ibid.*, 5177, 7495.

231. Reproductions are conveniently grouped together in E. Jung, *German. Götter und Helden in christlicher Zeit* (Lehman, Munich, 1922), p. 49.

232. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

233. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 99: cf. Weise, *Monatshefte f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1920.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

236. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

237. *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1930, col. 499 f., fig. 3.

The stylistic gulf between these pieces, still thriving on a rather strong classical tradition, and the barbarous pseudo-cameos at Mainz and Nürnberg, is difficult to bridge. On Merovingian coins, as far as I am aware, sea monsters do not occur. On Celtic coins they are rare. Forrer gives a silver coin of the Allobroges with a slightly barbarized hippocamp, probably an imitation of a consular denarius,²³⁸ and some other examples proving that the motive, between 150 and 25 B. C., had already degenerated beyond recognition.²³⁹ I may further cite some coins from Narbonne²⁴⁰ of the third-second century B. C., of the Arverni (first century B. C.)²⁴¹ and, finally, a coin of the Carnutes or Cenomani (second century B. C.),²⁴² on which a hippocamp has been used as countermark. They all show that in barbarian environment the motive tends to become quickly an unrecognizable monster. There is, however, no doubt that the barbarian tribes of the early Middle Ages had a strong predilection for representations of "dragons" and other fantastic animals. They used to wear Celtic coins as amulets,²⁴³ though the unintelligible monsters on these coins usually prove to be strongly barbarized representations of horses.

Hippocamps, however, seem to have attracted the barbarians as well. An enameled fibula in the shape of a hippocamp found at Meclo and probably of late Roman date²⁴⁴ betrays so little understanding for the build and proportions of the animal that it can only be a barbarian interpretation. The atrophied forelegs and the decorative trefoil tail are especially characteristic. A similar fibula in the Museum at Eichstätt²⁴⁵ has been found in the Rhineland and dates from the age of the migrations. It is typically barbarian and has little, stump-like wings like those on the Mainz cameo. The sea monster appears without any extremities at all on a fibula found at Worms,²⁴⁶ and on a gold pendant from the seventh century in the Museum at Wiesbaden.²⁴⁷

We have already seen that a host of sea monsters entered into the grave imagery with the coming of the Romans to Gaul and Germany. But the Romans certainly were not the first to introduce these monsters north of the Alps. The import of Etruscan bronze work, on which hippocamps and sea monsters frequently occur,²⁴⁸ had much earlier made them known in central Europe.²⁴⁹ Lindenschmit has published an excellent example of such a monster, which seems to be a fantastic travesty of a hippocamp.²⁵⁰ Possibly we should even extend our horizon considerably and take into account also the art of the migration period in Hungary, where monsters, especially griffins, are standing motives. But so far as I am aware no direct parallels occur and, moreover, this would lead us too far astray.²⁵¹

At any rate, in the North the soil was well prepared for the survival of this motive, and from an artistic as well as from a technical point of view the Mainz and Nürnberg cameos may have been made here.

238. *Kelt. Numism.*, p. 345, fig. 536.

239. *Ibid.*, p. 279, figs. 480, 481.

240. Blanchet-Dieudonné, *Manuel*, I, p. 29.

241. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

242. *Ibid.*, p. 33, 2 and fig. 37.

243. Forrer, *Kelt. Numism.*, pp. 9 f.

244. Cf. Forrer, *Reallexikon*, p. 239, pl. 61, 11.

245. Cf. *Germania Romana*², V, pl. X, 3, 12.

246. Lindenschmit, *Altertümer unsrer heidn. Vorzeit*, II, Heft IV, pl. 5, 5.

247. *Ibid.*, Heft III, pl. 6, 1.

248. Cf. Lamer in Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzyklop.*, s. v. *Hippokamp*, col. 1757 f.

249. Cf. P. Jacobsthal and A. Langsdorff, *Die Bronzeschnabelkannen* (Keller, Berlin, 1929), pp. 61 f.

250. Lindenschmit, *op. cit.*, II, Beilage zu Heft VIII, No. 11.

251. Cf. Fettich, *Kunstgewerbe d. Avarzeit* (*Archæologia Hungarica*, I, 1926) and *Bronzeguss und Nomadenkunst*, Prague, 1929.

To sum up my argument, I suggest that the manufacture of these pseudo-cameos originated in Italy, probably in northern Italy, in the first half of the sixth century, and thence extended north of the Alps. The specimens of St.-Maurice, Utrecht, Mainz, and Nürnberg were probably made in the North in the course of the sixth century. It is difficult to say where. I feel rather inclined to think of the Rhineland in the case of the Mainz and Nürnberg cameos. The other pieces perhaps originate from a more intensively Romanized region, possibly some part of Gaul.

Finally, we may try to test our results by comparing the pseudo-cameos with the rare, plastic works of art ascribed to the same date. As a welcome corroboration of the date that we found for the glass casts at Brescia, I cite a buckle, ornamented by a plastic bust, in the museum at Modena.²⁵² This object, which, as Zimmermann states, stands all by itself, shows a striking similarity with the glass casts. We find the same bullet-shaped skull and square, broad face with its wide-set eyes, and, above all, the same way of finishing the bust in an ornamental way. The bold style in which the features are rendered seems closely akin. Zimmermann has connected this buckle with works of art belonging to the seventh or eighth century. This date agrees very well with the date which we found for the glass casts.

I further call attention to a bronze implement of uncertain use, now in the collection of Count Wilczek at Vienna, which apparently came, by Paris, from Milan.²⁵³ It shows three small figures of men, and in the general treatment of the features and the drapery and in the type of the faces, it is very similar to the heads on our pseudo-cameos. Strzygowski has dealt extensively with this object and the scanty parallel material, which mainly comes from southern France. He lays particular stress on the ethnic type, which he calls Gallic and which is rather like the type of Utrecht I, and calls attention to the strong survival of classical tradition in Gaul. As a matter of fact, this ethnic type can already be traced on monuments of Roman times, although it returns in the Rhineland.²⁵⁴ Strzygowski very tentatively ascribes this object to the sixth or seventh century.²⁵⁵ This date seems to be confirmed by a curious bronze bust in the Municipal Museum at Mainz (Fig. 40), to which Professor Behrens has drawn my attention.²⁵⁶ The bust is hollow at the back and fitted with a strong bronze peg, so that originally it seems to have been fixed to a background, possibly a sword belt. Its purpose is uncertain but the head doubtless belongs to the category of transitional bronzes, dealt with by Strzygowski. The eyes were inlaid with a glass paste, the left eye now is gone. Here again we find the same steep profile, the general rigidity, and even the square type of bullet head, and the schematic shoulders, which strongly recall the glass casts of the cross at Brescia and also the pseudo-cameos at

252. Only known to me from Riegl-Zimmermann, *Die spätromische Kunstindustrie*, II, p. 38, fig. 18.

253. Strzygowski, *Oesterreichische Jahreshfte*, IV (1901), pp. 189 f.

254. See *Germania Romana*², V, pl. XVI, 3 and 7, from Heidenheim and Mainz.

255. *Loc. cit.*, p. 199. I further call attention to some sculptured capitals in the Church of Ponte allo Spino, which show a curious similarity to the pseudo-cameo Utrecht I. They may belong to a much later date but it is noteworthy that Biehl (*Toskanische Plastik des*

frühen und hohen Mittelalters, Leipzig, 1926, p. 28, pl. 26) considers them as survivals of the old Langobard style in popular art ("Volkskunst"). In these sculptures from North Italy the similarity of appearance is probably due to survivals of the Langobard style as well as to the barbarization common in popular art.

256. I owe the sketch of the Mainz bust to the kindness of Dr. P. T. Kessler, Mainz. Professor Neeb has kindly given me permission to publish the photographs. (Unfortunately, the photographs arrived too late to be used in this article.—Editor.)

Utrecht. The Mainz bust was found in grave 6 of the Merovingian cemetery at Ober-Olm, near Mainz, together with various other bronze objects, some of which have already been published²⁵⁷ and seem rather early. Of course the bust may be even older, but at any rate its *terminus ante quem* is fixed. Thus, again the date which we found for our pseudo-cameos seems to be corroborated, though it seems impossible to reach absolute certainty.

* * *

I am well aware that my description of the three bookbindings at Utrecht has in parts grown to undue proportions, but I have deliberately not remedied this unevenness. When I started to work on these bindings, I was attracted by the Bacchus head and the portrait of the Trajanic lady. Soon, however, I found that other gems, though less conspicuous, were much more problematical than these rather obvious relics of classical antiquity, and that the whole problem of decorating ecclesiastical objects with antique gems had never been seriously tackled at all. Now and again a wandering archaeologist has called attention to some particularly fine specimen of ancient glyptic in the treasure of a church, but whereas our museums and collections have been described and published with minute care, nobody ever seems to have troubled about the heaped masses of material in the possession of the Church. I have not found a single, *full* description or an *adequate* publication of a mediaeval bookbinding which, from an archaeological point of view, does justice to the carved gems set into it. The description of other church treasures is hardly more adequate. There may therefore be plenty of parallel material, which I have been unable to use. On the other hand, it seemed necessary to call attention to these facts and, by trying to make a beginning, and to give some full descriptions, to point out that this is a field where a systematic, combined effort of archaeologists and historians of art may lead to important results.

²⁵⁷ Cf. Lindenschmit, *Altert. heidn. Vorzeit*, vol. I, Heft I, pl. 7, No. 5; Heft IX, pl. 8, Nos. 4 and 5; Heft XII,

pl. 6, No. 11; vol. II, Heft XII, pl. 5, Nos. 7-9; vol. III, Heft I, pl. 6, No. 7.



Zeichnung 1:1

FIG. 40—Mainz; Municipal Museum: Bronze Bust
(Line Drawing of Profile Cross-Section)



FIG. 1a



FIG. 1b

Rome, Museo Cristiano: Front and Back of Ulric Cross

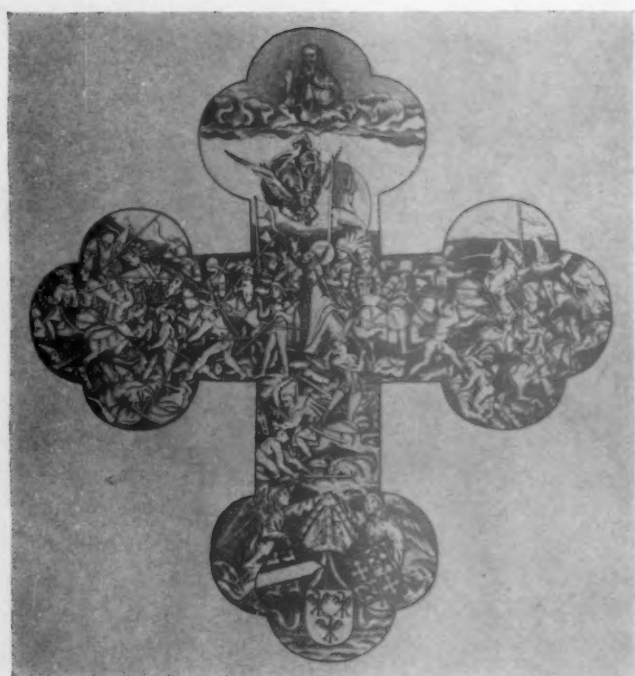


FIG. 2a

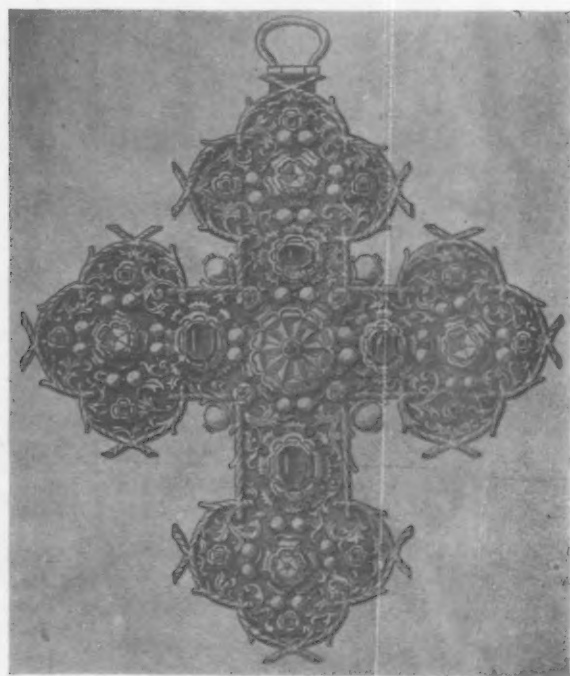


FIG. 2b

Augsburg, Treasury of St. Ulric, Front and Back of Ulric Cross, made by the Augsburg Goldsmith Nikolaus Seld, 1494

THE ULRIC CROSSES

BY J. M. FRIESENEGGER¹

FOREWORD: by E. Baldwin Smith

THERE are many special legends connected with the great figures of the Catholic faith which have enriched the art of the Church. Among these legends which have been commemorated is the story of the cross which is supposed to have been brought by an angel to St. Ulric as he went into battle against the Huns.

While many different types of this cross were designed as objects of devotion and as talismans the crosses based on this theme are not commonly known because so few of the existing examples are in the large museums and collections. Two examples, both struck from the same mold and chased by hand, are in the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library at Rome (Nos. 165, 166).²

Both crosses (Fig. 1) are of silver and stand 5.7 cm. high and are 5.2 cm. and 5.3 cm., respectively, wide; on their face is a battle scene with a bishop and emperor riding into the enemy while above them appears an angel carrying a cross; and on the reverse is the inscription CRUX VICTORIALIS with olive branches as space fillers. These are Ulric crosses belonging to a series of designs which were made during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the Benedictine church of Sts. Ulric and Afra at Augsburg, where they were consecrated and then given to pilgrims as either souvenirs or talismans against the plague of mice.

The two Vatican examples show the craftsmanship and style of the early eighteenth century and were made in all probability either in 1690 for the coronation of Joseph I as King of the Romans or in 1712 for the seven-hundredth jubilee of the Benedictines of St. Ulric. Since the Vatican pair are cast and worked in silver, while the more common Ulric crosses were executed in bronze and silver gilt, there is the possibility that they were gifts to the papal representatives at one of these functions.

Inasmuch as there is only one authority on these crosses it is a privilege to write the foregoing paragraphs as an introduction to the article of J. M. Friesenegger,³ Dean of the Cathedral at Augsburg, who has studied and recorded one hundred and eighty types of the Ulric cross, of which the Vatican examples are a variation of type I-B.

1. *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library* (XVIII), edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith.

2. Canon X. Barbier de Montault when he wrote his guide to the Vatican Library in 1867, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane*, p. 94, No. 461, did not know their origin and so

misinterpreted the battle scene, and de Rossi omitted them from his inventory.

3. J. M. Friesenegger, *Die Ulrichskreuze*, Augsburg, 1895; *Über Ulrichskreuze*, in *Mitt. d. bayer. numism. Gesellschaft*, XVI, XVII, 1897; XXIV, 1905; XXVIII, 1910.

I. THE ULRIC CROSS

Ulric crosses were originally solely signs of pilgrimage, i. e., souvenirs for the numerous pilgrims from near and far to remind them of the much worshipped sepulcher of Ulric, the patron of the diocese of Augsburg, and also souvenirs in memory of the venerable cross of St. Ulric, the most precious treasure the St. Ulric minster possesses.

The cross of St. Ulric which to-day is still to be found in the vestry of the St. Ulric minster consists of three parts (Fig. 2).

1. The outer Gothic case of the cross dates from 1494. It was made by the famous goldsmith George Seld, who also made about the same time, the world-renowned Ostensorium for the *Wunderbarliche Gut* (miraculous sacrament) in the Church of the Holy Cross, and by his brother Nicholas Seld, whose name is engraved on the back of the case.

The very precious front part, studded with pearls and jewels, is one of the most valued treasures we possess from that period and is unique in its design and the combination of rich workmanship of massive gold with pure pearls and glittering diamonds and sapphires.

The back part shows the representation of the battle against the Hungarians on August 10th, 955. In this battle on the Lechfeld Emperor Otto defeated the Hungarians who every year for a long time had devastated and ravaged German land, often as far as the Black Forest. He beat them so completely that they never returned. The presence of St. Ulric in the battle, the scene representing him beside the emperor, on horse back, and clad in his clerical vestments, stretching out his hand for the cross of victory which an angel from heaven brings him in hasty flight, is a legend appearing only in later times. Bishop Ulric at that time was the ruler of Augsburg and defended the town by the bravery of his men and by his unlimited confidence in God against the superior forces of the Hungarians from August 7th to 9th until Emperor Otto hastened with the German princes in forced marches to his assistance. We consider it impossible that he personally participated in the battle of Lechfeld, as he had to remain behind with the majority of his warriors for the protection of the town.

2. In the above-mentioned Gothic case of the Ulric cross there is a small reliquary which evidently was worn on the chest; it is 37 mm. long and wide, and 14-15 mm. in thickness. It surely dates from 1280-1320, after the body of St. Ulric had been exhumed for the first time in 1183. The front part is a massive silver cover richly gilded; on a black enameled ground Christ is depicted nailed on the trunk of a tree, and beside him the Virgin Mary and John as strikingly large half-length portraits. Highly important is the inscription on the back; CR / VX / VICTORIALIS / SCTI VDALRICI / EPI AVS.

3. Within the case the uncommonly large particle of the cross which St. Ulric received from the pope on one of his three trips to Rome, is for the first time named the Cross of Victory (*Crux Victorialis*), by which we may assume that St. Ulric with this little cross, either wearing it on his chest, or holding it up in his hand, roused the courage of his warriors for the defence of the town. The inscription of 1494 by Abbot John von Giltingen on the outer side of the middle part of the Ulric cross tells us that he had the cross of victory, which was brought to St. Ulric by an angel from heaven, enclosed in the above-described case in 1494. This explains why most of the Ulric crosses show on their reverse side the Battle against the Hungarians.

This Ulric cross, as can be proved, hung from a heavy gold chain and was carried by the abbots on their breasts at special divine services, at great festivals, at the election of the Roman kings, etc., and was sometimes used as the *Instrumentum Pacis* for the Kiss of Peace. Since the sequestration of church property there have been no more priests at St. Ulric's with the right to wear a pectoral cross. Therefore the cross has been fixed on a pedestal and even to-day is placed on the altar (once a month) during the divine services of the congregations of brethren; it is also carried by the bishop, or by one of the canons, in the procession on the anniversary day of St. Ulric and St. Afra, and then placed on the altar during high mass.

II. THE ULRIC CROSSES

It was certainly not before the end of the sixteenth century, and very likely only during the seventeenth or eighteenth, that the Ulric crosses were made by stamp cutters and engravers of this and other towns on behalf of the cloister, and were reproduced by stamping and casting and consecrated in the church as well as at places of pilgrimage. Indulgences were connected with them, and sometimes the fathers touched the pilgrims with the Ulric crosses and distributed them as souvenirs. The pilgrims sometimes came from as far as Poland. Later on they were used not only as souvenirs but also as talismans against the plague of mice. The soil from St. Ulric's grave was also used against this plague. It can be proved by dozens of cases that the crosses were buried in meadows, fields, and vineyards for this purpose. They have also been found in houses, cellars, and stables for similar reasons. Not only in the town and diocese of Augsburg but also in Old Bavaria, Lower Austria, Styria, Tyrol, Württemberg, especially in Alsace-Lorraine, very rarely in France and the North. This is not to say that the crosses are not sometimes to be found in museums or public collections of the North, as in Berlin, and Gotha, or those of foreign countries, as in the Vatican at Rome.

By far the largest collection, however, is to be found in the Ulric museum in Augsburg, which was founded in 1893 by the author of this article. Von Tuerk, provost of the chapter of St. Cajetan in Munich presented a unique, and at that time very rare, collection of about sixty Ulric crosses. They were not collected at random but arranged from a local historical point of view and described in a booklet (1895) with four appendices.

In this study they were divided into five classes; a sixth class, containing particularly rare specimens, a seventh (filigree crosses), and an eighth (consisting of crosses which were made for special festivities in later years) were added in the course of time.

Class I-A. The crosses which have not the Battle against the Hungarians on the reverse side were arranged in class I-A; while the crosses in Class I-B show the Battle against the Hungarians, but not other representations which refer to St. Ulric or his symbols; Class II contains all Ulric crosses which generally show the town of Augsburg as the chief representation on the front part and the battle on the reverse side; Class II-B, with a small St. Benedict as Orant, leads to Class III-A, to which all crosses belong which show on the front part St. Benedict as the chief person between Ulric and Afra. The crosses belonging to Class III-B do not show St. Ulric at all, but only St. Benedict and make the crosses of Class III, which already in III-A have become amulets through the presence of St. Benedict, pest amulets through the addition of the Zacharias consecration. A subordinate category of this class omits St. Ulric, showing St. Benedict alone; their

character thus indicated is emphasized also by their consecration to Zacharias for protection against the plague.

The Ulric cross in Class I, shows us St. Ulric himself in the picture or reminds us of him by the inscription and the symbols (e. g., the fish), or refers to the Ulric cross as *Crux Victorialis*, which inscription is either written in full or abbreviated by the letters C. V. S. V., or only C. V.

Class II relates the Ulric cross to Augsburg, while Class II-B refers it specifically to a Benedictine monastery. Class III informs us further that this monastery is the monastery of the Benedictines of St. Ulric and Afra in Augsburg. With this the Ulric cross has reached its fullest development. In Class III-B St. Ulric disappears from the crosses and we find him only in the picture of the Battle against the Hungarians. The crosses are by this time not merely Ulric crosses but also Benedict crosses, to be used not merely as simple talismans in general but as plague talismans.

The crosses in Classes IV, V, and VI have, above all, local historical character. The crosses in Class IV show on the front part four Augsburg bishops who lived before St. Ulric and were exhumed in 1698, their skeletons being clothed with precious episcopal robes and placed on the newly erected altar in the large vestry for general worship, and also St. Digna, one of the three maids who were tortured in 304 A. D. with St. Afra, whose body lies in richest mounting on the altar. Above them is a small tabernacle wherein the genuine Ulric cross was formerly kept, a picture on the door of the tabernacle referring to it, while the inscription above the lattice of the entrance to this vestry chapel tells us that the chapel is dedicated to the cross of victory and to the saint resting there. (The cross is No. 13 in Class IV and shows on its front part the entire altar.)

The crosses of Class V show us a Gothic Virgin Mary of 1570 from the altar of the so-called Schnecken Chapel situated above the vestry.

Class VI contains nearly all crosses of unique value which were used on special occasions as baptismal souvenirs, at coronations, at the jubilees of the church and the monastery, etc. They could also be classified in class I-A or I-B.

Class VII contains largely rosary pendants of filigree originating from Gmünd in Württemberg towards the end of the eighteenth century. They can only be acknowledged as Ulric crosses if they are marked on the front or back, or, as customary, on both sides with S-V, *sancti Udalrici*, the word *Crux* to be understood. They are very different in size and make, the oldest of them being those which are quite flat and one-sided, representing a very primitive crucifix. Instead of the above S-V, we sometimes also find Ulric crosses which have a small enamel plate in the middle with the picture or the scroll inscribed with St. Ulric's name.

In Class VIII we find Ulric crosses of later times which were from 1893 to 1911 (occasionally also still later) ordered by the author of this article to be made for ecclesiastical and personal jubilees, (some of them in gold, a few dozen in silver, thousands in Britannia aluminum and bronze).

The information from America that two Ulric crosses are to be found in the collections of the Vatican in Rome which, according to the forwarded photographs, belong to Class I-B suggested the foregoing article.

TRIBOLO IN HIS MICHELANGELESQUE VEIN

BY BERTHA H. WILES¹

M. REYMOND'S division of the Florentine sculpture of the cinquecento into two broad trends—the "feminine," characterized by grace and elegance, illustrated by the works of Jacopo Sansovino, and the "masculine," with its predilection for colossal dimensions and forceful expression, typified by the sculpture of Michelangelo—is still useful.²

The works of Niccolò Tribolo have naturally been classified under the feminine trend. Their stylistic affinities are with the figures of Andrea Sansovino, whose reliefs at Loreto Tribolo completed, and with those of Jacopo Sansovino, to whom he was at one time apprenticed. The statue of the Nature Goddess in the Louvre, the relief of the Sposalizio at the Santa Casa, Loreto (Fig. 3), the pictorial relief of the Assumption at San Petronio, Bologna (Fig. 4), and the putti of the charming fountain of Hercules at the Medicean Villa of Castello (Fig. 6)—all are in the graceful Sansovinesque vein.

Yet in one respect all these works reveal the influence of Michelangelo. I mean Tribolo's constant preoccupation with the problem of the human figure in torsion. It appears in the putti that cluster about the breasts of the Louvre caryatid of 1528, in the figure of the Virgin in the Bologna Assumption of 1537-38, and finally in the turning, twisting putti that swarm over the fountain at Castello; and it implies a careful study of the works of the great Florentine. We know that as a youth Tribolo studied the cartoon of the Battle of Pisa,³ and when Clement VII called him to Rome about 1530 he must have seen the frescoes of the Sistine ceiling.⁴ In 1534 he came into direct contact with Michelangelo, who employed him in the Medici Sacristy at San Lorenzo to make two large figures of Earth and Heaven from small models in clay. He had completed the large model of Earth, and had commenced it in marble, when the death of Clement VII put an end to the work. Tribolo, however, lingered, to make small copies in clay of the four recumbent statues, Dawn and Day, Twilight and Night, as well as one of the Madonna.⁵ The first three copies are still preserved in the Bargello; that of Day is reproduced in Fig. 5.

One naturally looks for more pronounced evidence of the influence of Michelangelo in the sculpture which Tribolo executed after 1534; but the only works we have known

1. I wish to thank the Carnegie Corporation and the American Council of Learned Societies for grants which made possible the research on which this article is based.

2. Marcel Reymond, *La Sculpture Florentine*, Vol. IV, p. 103.

3. Vasari, *Le Opere*, Milanese edition of 1881, Vol. VII, p. 161.

4. He had probably gone to Rome several years earlier, to assist Michelangelo Senese in the execution of Baldassare Peruzzi's design for the tomb of Hadrian VI, who died in 1523. See Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 92.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 65-66. Vasari's long and detailed life of Tribolo is the primary source of our knowledge of this sculptor's life and works.

from this period, the two fountains of Castello and Petraja, completed with the assistance of others,⁶ and the Bologna relief of the Assumption,⁷ are still in the Sansovinesque mode. Did he never essay the masculine, colossal vein as did the other sculptors who fell under the spell of Michelangelo's style? It is evident that he did, for Vasari mentions several colossal statues which Tribolo executed in the period following his work in the Medici chapel—the figures which formed part of the temporary decorations in honor of Charles the Fifth's visit to Florence in 1536⁸ and the two river gods, the Arno and Mugnone, made for wall fountains at the Medicean villa of Castello between the years 1537 and 1547.⁹ As the colossi of the river gods Bagradas and Hiberus, each eight braccia (almost sixteen feet!) in length, which decorated the Ponte Santa Trinità in 1536, and the Arno and Mugnone at Castello, of four braccia each (or nearly eight feet), were all recumbent statues, it seems probable that they reflected the type and style of Michelangelo's reclining figures in the Medici chapel, which Tribolo had copied, the classic examples, in that period, of the treatment of the recumbent nude. Indeed, from a lunette preserved in the Museo Topografico at Florence, depicting the grounds of the Villa of Castello as they appeared in 1599,¹⁰ we know that the poses of the Arno and Mugnone reproduced those of Michelangelo's Night and Day. Unfortunately, that part of the lunette is not sufficiently clear to give a photograph suitable for reproduction, and must be studied *in situ*. There is no trace of the Arno and Mugnone at Castello to-day; and the colossal figures of 1536, which were constructed for temporary effect only, have long since perished. With them, apparently, had perished all evidence of Tribolo's later, Michelangelesque style.

It was therefore most gratifying to me, in the course of my study of Florentine fountain sculpture, to come upon two unpublished, documented works of Tribolo's later period, which reveal the influence of Michelangelo in their *contrapposto* and grandiose conception. One is the statue of a river god in a niche at the Villa Corsini, Castello, first recognized by Inigo Triggs in 1906.¹¹ Adolf Gottschewski, writing in 1910,¹² was also inclined to accept it as the figure thus described by Vasari: "Tribolo made for the villa of Cristofano Rinieri at Castello [now the Villa Corsini], while he was working on the fountains of the duke, above a fishpond which is at the head of a grove in a niche, a river god of gray stone [*pietra bigia*] of life size, which spouts water into an enormous basin of the same stone. This river god, which is made of pieces, is put together with such skill and care that it

6. The great fountain of Hercules and Antaeus, and the fountain of Venus Anadyomene (the latter originally at Castello, but now in the nearby Villa Petraja), were both completed on Tribolo's design with the aid of other sculptors, notably Pierino da Vinci and Antonio Lorenzi. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 80 and 81, pp. 123-124; Vol. VII, p. 636.

7. Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, in Vol. VI, pp. 39ff. of *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, quotes documents from the *Archivio di Stato*, Bologna, which date this relief between October 6, 1537, and February 8, 1538. See also Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 69-70.

8. Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 67-68, and Vol. VIII, pp. 258-259. The names of the rivers modeled by Tribolo differ in the two accounts.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 77-78. The reasons for the dates given will be found on page 68 of this article.

10. I owe my knowledge of the precise date of the series of fourteen tempera lunettes of Medicean villas in the Museo Storico Topografico, now housed in the Museo di San Marco, in Florence, to the courtesy of Commendatore Giovanni Poggi, who has discovered a document recording payments to a certain Giusto Utens for painting these lunettes in a room at the Villa Artimino in 1598 and 1599.

11. H. Inigo Triggs, *The Art of Garden Design in Italy*, London, 1906, p. 82.

12. Adolf Gottschewski and Georg Gronau's edition of Vasari, Vol. VII, part I, note 55 on p. 263: "Die Villa gehört jetzt den Principi Corsini. Im Garten befindet sich eine schlecht erhaltene Sandsteinfigur, welche die hier erwähnte sein könnte."



FIG. 1—Florence, Boboli Gardens: Relief Symbolizing
Fiesole Rising from the Rocks, here Attributed to
Tribolo, between 1537 and 1550



FIG. 2—Bologna, Portal of San Petronio: Relief of Joseph's
Interpretation of a Dream, Attributed to Tribolo
c. 1525-1526



FIG 3—Loreto, Santa Casa: *Relief of Marriage of the Virgin*, begun by Sansovino
Figures of Right Half by Tribolo, c. 1530



FIG. 4—Bologna, San Petronio: *Relief of Assumption of the Virgin*, by Tribolo, 1537-1538

seems all one piece."¹³ I am indebted to Prince Andrea Corsini for his gracious permission to have the figure photographed (Fig. 7).

Unfortunately, Vasari's description is not sufficiently precise to permit an absolute identification of our river god with the figure by Tribolo; but our figure is of the same gray sandstone which he mentions here as *pietra bigia* and elsewhere as *macigno*.¹⁴ Where his figure is vaguely said to be "of life-size," the Corsini river god is slightly larger than life-size; for it is approximately 180 centimeters (or about five feet, ten inches) high in its sitting position.¹⁵ Water originally issued from the urn placed between the legs, and the large basin of which Vasari wrote is now utilized in another fountain, erected in the baroque period, for the river god no longer stands in its original place in the villa. Stalactites like those on which the figure sits, and into which the urn is set, probably formed a background for the statue in its original niche.¹⁶ The figure itself is to-day in such a ruinous state that it is impossible to determine whether it was originally made of pieces of stone, or was repaired later; but I am inclined to think that the cracks visible even in the photograph in the feet and in the raised arm near the hand are evidence of original piecing such as Vasari mentions.

However, it is the style of the Corsini river god that completes the chain of evidence connecting our statue with the river god described by Vasari. Not only is the figure unquestionably by a sixteenth century hand; it also shows certain characteristics peculiar to Tribolo's known works. At first glance, one feels a certain baroque quality in the statue; but this impression is due largely to the violent *contrapposto*, which is plainly derived from the Ignudi of the Sistine ceiling. The somewhat Scopasian expression of the head is due partly to long exposure, which has softened the definite modeling of the cinquecento to a rather pictorial effect, and partly to its prototype, the head of Donatello's Abraham on the Campanile at Florence. The lack of proper transition in the torso between the direction of the head, which is turned sharply to the left, and that of the active leg, which turns directly to the right,¹⁷ is characteristic of Tribolo; compare the figure at the extreme left of the relief of Joseph's Interpretation of the Dream, from one of the minor portals of San Petronio at Bologna (Fig. 2), which Supino rightly gives to Tribolo.¹⁸ Another trait of Tribolo, the tendency toward faulty proportions, particularly toward making the head too large and the torso too short, also appears in this figure, as in the one at the right of the Bologna relief. When he combines the overlarge head and the short torso with a tendency to bend the body over into a crouching position, as he does in the man breaking his rod in the right half of the relief of the Sposalizio at Loreto, carved about 1530 (Fig. 3), and notably in the figure of the old man, at the right of the Bologna

13. Vasari, Milanese edition, Vol. VI, pp. 91-92.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 125: "Restaci la pietra serena, e la bigia detta macigno." According to Louisa Maclellan and Baldwin Brown in *Vasari on Technique*, London, 1907, p. 57, note 93, this is a "green gray sandstone of the lower tertiary formation in Italy." See also Filippo Baldinucci, *Vocabulario Toscano dell'Arte del Disegno*, Vol. II, p. 53, and Vol. II, p. 300, on *pietra bigia* and *macigno*, in the 1809 edition of Baldinucci's works in the *Classici Italiani* series.

15. Assuming "life-size" to equal about six feet for a standing figure.

16. On this type of stalactite and its use in rustic fountains, see note 22, of this article.

17. The terms "right" and "left" are here used with reference to the spectator.

18. I. B. Supino, *Le Sculture delle Porte di San Petronio di Bologna*, Florence, 1914, pp. 51 ff., assigns this relief to Tribolo. From the dates given for Tribolo, from the Archivio di San Petronio, it should be dated 1526-1527 (p. 52, note 3).

relief of about 1525—6, a curious, telescoped effect is produced. This characteristic is most marked in his earliest works, but becomes less noticeable as he matures. Thus, the lower figures in the Assumption of the Virgin, of 1537 (Fig. 4), show only the squatty proportions; while in the figure of our river god, executed between 1537 and 1550,¹⁹ Tribolo has shaken off much of his early *gaucherie* and attained a breadth of style that justifies the adjective "Michelangelesque."

This statue is of great importance in the history of the fountain; for it adds to the iconography of the fountain the *motif* of the seated river god. Previous to this time, river gods had been represented in the recumbent position derived from classical prototypes; indeed this remained the usual formula for the river god throughout the sixteenth century. Since Tribolo carved this statue during the time that he was employed at the Medicean Villa of Castello, it must be dated between the year 1537, when work on the gardens of Castello was commenced by Cosimo I, and 1550, the year of Tribolo's death. It thus antedates by several years Giovanni Bologna's three figures of river gods on the fountain of Oceanus in the Boboli Gardens, evidently begun in the early seventies and completed in 1576, and was unquestionably their prototype; for Giovanni Bologna, who made the terminal statue for Tribolo's fountain at Petraja, and the bronze birds in the grotto at Castello, must have known this figure at the adjoining Villa Rinieri. In fact, his fountain at Boboli has been said to derive from a design by Tribolo.²⁰

Tribolo probably adopted the sitting posture because he felt that it would fill a tall niche better than the reclining one. Giovanni Bologna transferred this *motif* from the wall fountain to the freestanding fountain. Professor Antonio Muñoz has pointed out the dependence of Bernini's famous river gods, on the fountain in the center of the Piazza Navona, Rome, upon Giovanni Bologna's figures, contrasting the excited motion of Bernini's river gods with the calm of their sixteenth century prototypes.²¹ In Tribolo's river god, however, we already feel something of the baroque excitation. Figs. 7 and 8 therefore form an interesting contrast. It is even possible that Bernini, whose fountain figures were frequently influenced by Florentine prototypes of the sixteenth century, saw, and was influenced by, the Corsini river god, as well as by the later figures of Giovanni Bologna.

Tribolo's second work of Michelangelesque style is a large, broken block of gray sandstone, about 198 centimeters in height (about six feet, five inches), situated rather obscurely in the Boboli Gardens, on the left side of the path which runs above the amphitheater, toward the Isolotto. I am indebted to Commendatore Giovanni Poggi, Superintendent of Fine Arts at Florence, for his kind permission to have this relief photographed (Fig. 1). A contorted, nude female figure stands out in high relief against a background of carved stalactites. The curving lines along the right side and top of the

19. The reasons for this date are given in the following paragraph.

20. The design of this fountain has long been attributed to Tribolo, probably because Vasari states that he laid out the grounds of the Boboli Gardens and himself brought the granite for the great basin from the island of Elba; see Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 97. I tend to accept Baldinucci's version that Giovanni Bologna designed the fountain at the request of Prince Francesco; see Filippo Baldinucci, *Opere*, (edition of 1809, Classici Italiani series, Milan),

Vol. VIII, p. 117. A drawing by Giovanni Bologna showing a slightly different version of the fountain tends to support this view. It is in the collection of Mr. Henry Oppenheimer, and has been published by Anny E. Popp, *Old Master Drawings*, Vol. V, II, no. 6, September, 1927. Giovanni Gaye, in his *Carteggio inedito d'Artisti*, Vol. III, pp. 404-405, cites records of payments for pieces of marble for this fountain from May, 1572, on.

21. A. Muñoz, *Rassegna d'Arte*, 1916, p. 162.



FIG. 5—Florence, National Museum: *Copy of Michelangelo's Day, by Tribolo, c. 1534*

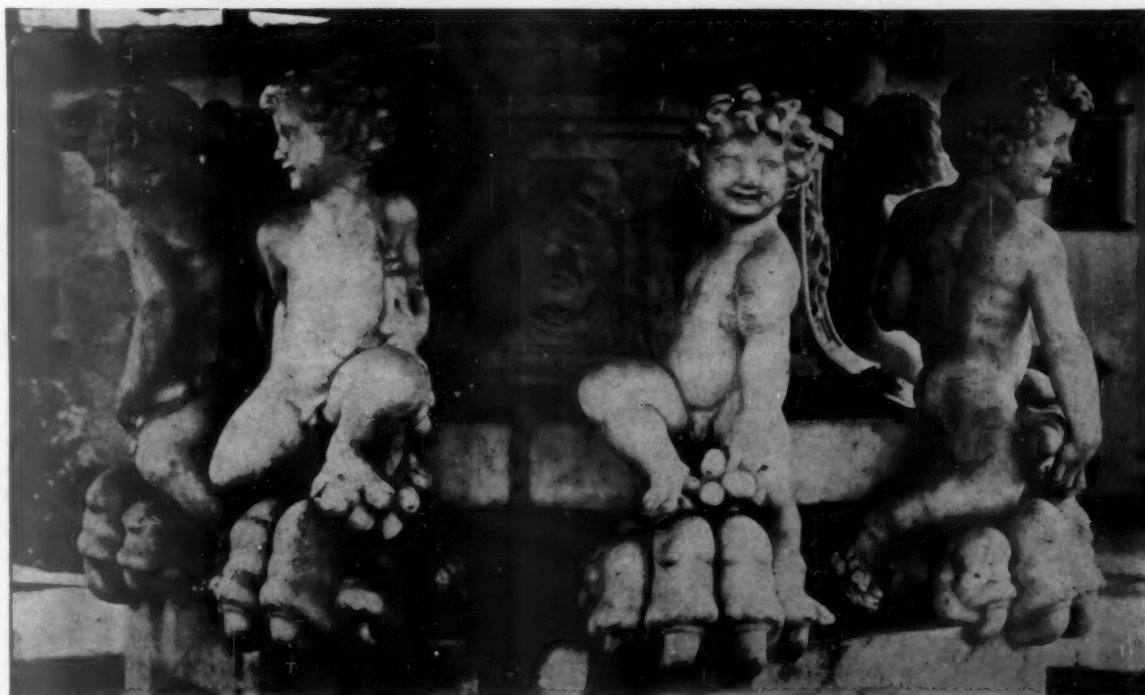


FIG. 6—Villa of Castello: *Detail of Fountain of Hercules, Designed by Tribolo and Executed by Tribolo and others, between 1537 and 1550*



FIG. 7—Castello, Villa Corsini: River God, here
Attributed to Tribolo, between 1537 and 1550

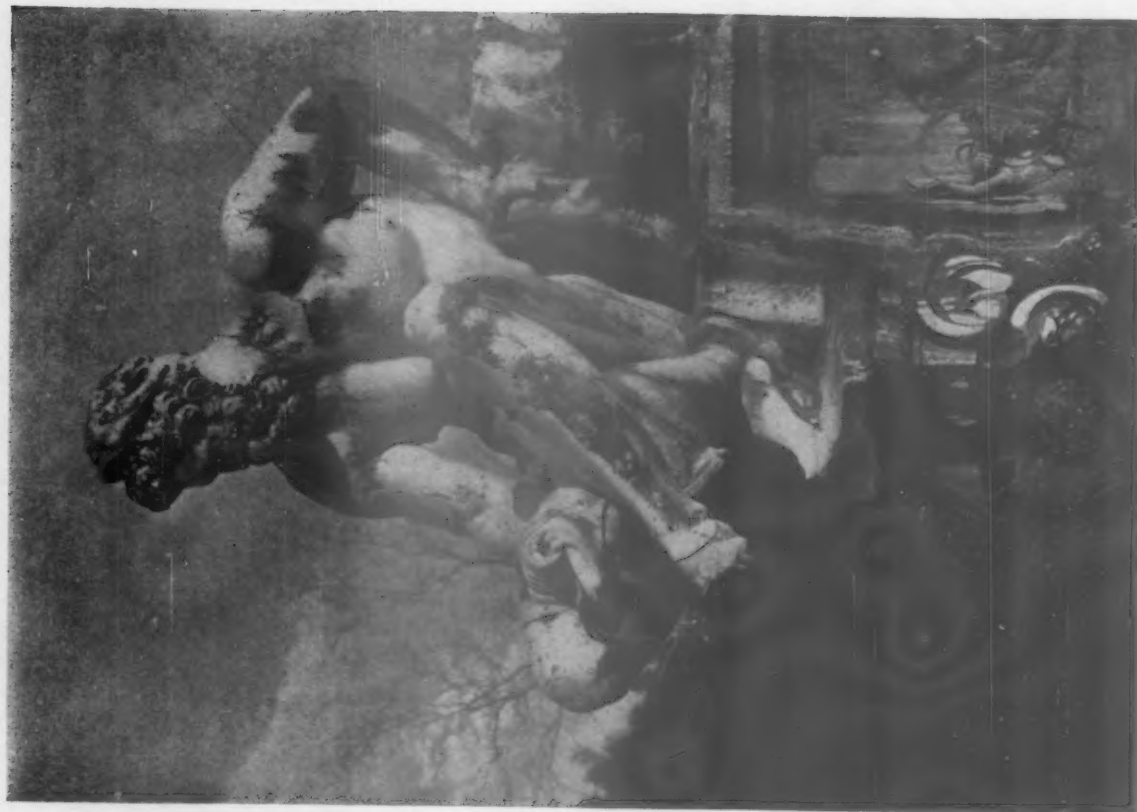


FIG. 8—Florence, Boboli Gardens: River God on Fountain of
Oceanus, by Giovanni Bologna, c. 1572-1576

block indicate that it once formed part of the decoration of an arched niche, while the stalactites in the background reproduce the type of natural stalactite used in the sixteenth century to decorate grottoes and rustic fountains in the Medicean villas.²²

A reference in Inghirami's description of the Boboli Gardens reveals the provenance of this relief: "Here one sees a great mass of *pietra serena*, in which is carved in a most exaggerated attitude a Diana, as it were in bas relief. Probably when situated on the fountain for which it was carved it produced a better effect; for in other times it was at the Royal Villa of Castello."²³ Vasari's detailed account of the design for the garden of that villa in his life of Tribolo identifies our block as the relief which once decorated the niche above the rustic fountain of the river god Mugnone, in the garden of the labyrinth: "The river god Mugnone . . . is in a great niche of gray stone [*pietra bigia*] decorated with the most beautiful ornaments, and entirely covered with stalactites. . . . Now Tribolo made for that [fountain of] Mugnone . . . a figure of gray stone, four braccia long, reclining in an elegant attitude. He bears on his shoulder a vase which spouts water into a basin, while the other [shoulder] rests on the ground, and the left leg is crossed over the right, and behind this river god is the figure of a woman to represent Fiesole, entirely nude, rising from the midst of the niche amid the stalactites of those rocks, holding in [her] hand a moon, which is the ancient insignia of the people of Fiesole."²⁴

The Boboli relief not only tallies in every detail with Vasari's description of the Fiesole, but is carved from the same material—the gray sandstone which, as we have seen in the case of the Corsini river god, Vasari sometimes calls *pietra bigia*, as here, sometimes *macigno*—a member of the same family as the more common *pietra serena*, with which Inghirami confused it. As to dimensions, the Fiesole is of more than life size, as would be expected of a figure combined, even in a subordinate way, with a statue on the heroic scale of the Mugnone, which measured seven feet and eight inches in length.²⁵ The identification of our block with the relief which originally stood at Castello is thus complete.

The fountain of the Mugnone, of which our block originally formed a part, no longer exists at Castello, but its general appearance is known from the lunette of that villa mentioned above.²⁶ The representation on the lunette is, however, extremely sketchy, and on a very small scale, so that the figure of the Fiesole in the rear of the niche does not appear.²⁷ Nevertheless, one can make out the pedimented framework, covered with stalactites, and dimly discern the arched recess, also covered with stalactites, which contained the Fiesole. Before the arch stood the marble basin, and above this stretched the recumbent figure of the river god Mugnone.

22. The walls of the well-known grottoes in the Boboli Gardens and the Villa at Castello are covered with these natural stalactites. Vasari, in a passage on rustic fountains (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 141) particularly mentions the type used in the garden of the Villa of Castello in the "rustic ornaments of the fountains made by Tribolo the sculptor."

23. Francesco Inghirami, *L'Imperiale e Reale Palazzo Pitti*, Poligrafia Fiesolana, 1828, p. 140.

24. Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 77.

25. The *braccio* of Vasari measures about 23 inches, or 58 centimeters, according to L. Maclehose and B. Brown,

op. cit., p. VIII. Four braccia would then equal seven feet, eight inches, or 232 centimeters.

26. In note 10 and pages 2 and 3.

27. The only other reproduction of this fountain that I know also fails to show the Fiesole. I refer to the extremely inaccurate engraving of the Garden of the Labyrinth at the Villa of Castello, executed by F. B. Werner in the eighteenth century. Impressions exist in the Gabinetto dei Stampi of the Uffizi, and in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, Fondo Cappugi, no. 397, no. 21.

When, and under what circumstances, was the Fiesole moved to the Boboli Gardens? In a note to the life of Tribolo in the 1730 edition of Borghini's *Il Riposo*,²⁸ the dilapidated state of the "figures" of the fountain of the Mugnone at Castello is commented upon. There is no specific reference to the Fiesole, but as the plural form of the word "figure" is used, it must still have been in its place. Neither Cambiagi's detailed description of the Boboli Gardens, published in 1757, nor Soldini's account of 1789,²⁹ mentions the relief, although the latter describes a number of statues brought to Boboli from the Villa of Pratolino after the publication of Cambiagi's account. In all probability, then, the block was moved from Castello some time between 1789, the date of Soldini's work, and 1828, when Inghirami's guide was published. I think we may guess at the circumstances under which the fountain of the Mugnone was dismantled, from the note in Borghini's *Il Riposo* mentioned above: "These figures have suffered somewhat from the injuries of the seasons, because they are exposed. The same is true of the figure of the Arno [a companion fountain to the Mugnone, shown on the lunette of Castello]." If this was the case in 1730, by the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth, the figures were probably in a ruinous state. Yet the Fiesole is still in a fair state of preservation, undoubtedly because, lying within the niche, it was protected at once from the action of the elements, and from erosion by the water which gushed from the urn of the river god. When the fountains of the Arno and Mugnone were dismantled, that part of the relief that contained the figure of Fiesole must have been salvaged and carried to the Boboli Gardens, which had already in 1778 become the depository for numerous figures from the Medicean villa at Pratolino.³⁰

The date of the Fiesole falls between the years 1537 and 1547. It may have been commenced at any time after 1537, when Cosimo, on becoming Duke, turned to the embellishment of the villa at Castello. It must have been completed by March, 1547; for the Arno and the Mugnone are mentioned in a "lesson" delivered by Benedetto Varchi before the Florentine Academy on the second Sunday of Lent in that year, and dedicated on March seventh.³¹ In one of those abstract discussions in which the cinquecento abounds, he says: "Thus we cannot say that Tribolo [for example] made the form of the Arno and of the Mugnone in those stones, which we see in the garden of Castello, . . . [but] we may well say, that he made of those stones, the Arno and Mugnone." Although Varchi does not mention the Fiesole, the relief in the niche behind the fountain would naturally have been set in place before the figure of the river god Mugnone; therefore, we may assume that the relief was completed by March, 1547.

28. Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo*, Florence, 1730, p. 386, note 2.

29. Gaetano Cambiagi, *Descrizione dell' Imperiale Giardino di Boboli*, Florence, 1757; and Francesco Soldini, *Descrizione del Giardino Reale detto di Boboli*, Florence, 1789.

30. Cesare da Prato, *Firenze ai Demidoff*, Florence, 1886, p. 270, note 1, quotes an annotation to a manuscript at Pratolino, dated 1778, which states that in that year many statues were transported from that villa to the Boboli

Gardens. Many of these are mentioned in Soldini's account of 1789.

31. Benedetto Varchi, *Due Lezioni*, Florence, printed in 1549. The first of the lessons, in which the Mugnone is mentioned, was delivered before the Florentine Academy on the second Sunday of Lent, 1546 (see p. 7) and dedicated to Don Lorenzo di Toledo on March 7, 1546 (see p. 6). As the Florentine year then began with the day of the Annunciation, March 25, these dates should be 1547, according to the modern way of reckoning. The Arno and Mugnone are mentioned on p. 33.

Vasari states most explicitly that the figure of Fiesole was completed by Tribolo, not only in the descriptive passage already cited, but again, some pages later: "But because Tribolo was not very energetic, and being, besides, much occupied in various business of the duke, he did not make anything else; and in all the time that he worked at Castello, he completed by his own hand only the two fountains, with those two rivers, the Arno and Mugnone, and the statue of Fiesole."³² Now Supino, in his monumental work on the sculpture of the portals of San Petronio, Bologna, points out that Vasari's statements concerning the work of Tribolo on those doors do not agree with the records in the archives of San Petronio, and concludes that Vasari had no authentic source for his statements concerning Tribolo's first work at Bologna.³³ Moreover, there is a discrepancy of fifteen years between the date of birth, 1500, given at the beginning of Vasari's life of Tribolo, and 1485, the date of birth implied at the end, where he is said to have died at the age of sixty-five, in 1550. We must, therefore, consider carefully the plausibility of Vasari's statements concerning the Fiesole. Was he in a position to have an accurate knowledge of Tribolo's works at Castello, executed between the years 1537 and 1550?

I see no reason to doubt Vasari's repeated statements of intimacy with Tribolo, which cover the years in question. They begin with the year 1534, when he encouraged the distraught sculptor, left without a commission on the death of Pope Clement VII, and continue to 1550, when he visited Tribolo in his last illness, urging him to continue his work at Castello as soon as he should recover.³⁴ Vasari thus had every opportunity to know from Tribolo himself what works he had already completed at Castello, and what he left unfinished at his death. Furthermore, the account books in the State Archives at Florence which record the work done at Castello during the years 1549 to 1556³⁵ make no mention of the Fiesole, while, on the other hand, they agree closely with Vasari's statements concerning the work left unfinished by Tribolo. For instance, Vasari tells us that Antonio Lorenzi finished the statue of Esculapius, begun by Tribolo, and the account books cite numerous payments to Antonio Lorenzi for completing this statue.³⁶

Vasari tells us that he was later employed to carry out the design for "the great fishpond and other things" at Castello; and two letters, written in 1561 and 1572, one to Cosimo I and the other to Vincenzo Borghini, relate to such business.³⁷ He was thus in a way to have particularly accurate information about all the works at Castello; for it is obvious that for any work done at a time when he was not employed there (as during his stay in Rome from 1550 to 1554) he had only to consult men like Antonio Lorenzi and Davitte Fortini,³⁸ who had worked with Tribolo at Castello, and continued the work in the years immediately following his death. I therefore accept Vasari's statement that the Fiesole was executed by Tribolo alone.

32. Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

33. I. B. Supino, *Le Sculture delle Porte di San Petronio in Bologna*, Florence, 1914, pp. 51 ff., particularly p. 52, note 3.

34. Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 66, 67, 69, 70, 98.

35. *Archivio del Stato di Firenze, Scrittoio delle Fabbriche*; Vols. I, II, and XIX cover work at the Villa of Castello during the years 1549-1556.

36. *Ibid.*, *Scrittoio delle Fabbriche*, II, p. 73 verso, p. 74, p. 108, etc., etc.

37. Vasari, *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 99, and Vol. VIII, p. 340 and p. 372.

38. Davitte Fortini, son-in-law of Tribolo is mentioned by Vasari at the end of the life of Tribolo as "helping build all the things at Castello." (Vasari, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 99.) Antonio Lorenzi is mentioned in Tribolo's life (VI, 82) and later on his own account (VII, p. 636).

Like the Corsini river god, the Fiesole with her extreme *contrapposto* points to the Sistine Ignudi as her prototype. The left (free) arm and hand show direct influence from Michelangelo; compare the left arm and hand of Dawn of the Medici Chapel. The transition between the head, facing sharply to the left, and the leg in the foreground, which turns to the right, is still not correctly managed in the shoulders and torso; and one still has a feeling that the figure is somewhat compressed and crowded, although this impression is less marked than in the earlier works.

The markedly pictorial character of this relief is unusual in Florentine sculpture of the cinquecento. How much of it is due to the gray tone of the stone, the softening of time, and the contrast of the stalactites with the smoother surface of the nude figure; how much to a deliberate attempt to render in the stone the yielding qualities of female flesh, is difficult to say. Certainly the soft, melting flesh is felt in the left arm, as it lies against the stalactites.³⁹ The head of the Fiesole has a charm and grace of expression unusual in this period.

As the style of this figure seems to me freer and more developed than that of the Corsini river god, I am inclined to date the latter about 1540, and to place the Fiesole in or shortly before 1547. In spite of certain *gaucheries*, I think this relief may stand as the masterpiece (so far as we can judge from his preserved work) of Tribolo's mature period—his most successful venture in the Michelangesque vein.

39. Perhaps the effect of this figure against its background suggested to Buontalenti the curious combination

of Michelangelo's unfinished figures and the stalactite walls of his grotto at Boboli.

REVIEWS

DIE KUNST DER RENAISSANCE: ITALIEN UND DAS DEUTSCHE FORMGEFÜHL. By Heinrich Wölfflin. 222 pp.; 92 figs.; Munich, F. Bruckmann, 1931. M 15.

In the world of art criticism the name of Heinrich Wölfflin has long been associated with the brilliant generalization which is characteristic of the Viennese school of art historians, of which he is to some extent regarded as the dean. He has undertaken to solve problems of such vast scope as what is Italian about Italian art and life, what distinguishes Baroque from Renaissance, what qualities distinguish the north of Europe from the south. The appearance of a new book by him is therefore something of an event.

This most recent work is an investigation of German art in the course of transition from Late Gothic to High Renaissance during the fruitful twoscore years 1490-1530. The limits set are not entirely arbitrary, for they correspond to the period of activity of the chief genius of the time, Albrecht Dürer. Strong Italian influence on German art during this period is admitted by everyone. What was the state of German culture, however, to make such influence possible? What was the influence like? Did Germany borrow external fragments of a social fabric she did not comprehend? Did she try to force them into a system with which they were incompatible? Was her art, in short, unified during these years or torn by warring impulses? These are some of the questions the author considers.

Criticism has tended to make a sharp break between Late Gothic and High Renaissance (Italianism) in Germany as elsewhere. One needs the terms to describe real and distinct styles, but one forgets that the styles are only points in an evolution which progresses in an orderly and logical fashion. The years 1490-1530 form an especially clear case of such transition between styles, and great as may be the differences between artists busy at the time, such as Dürer, Baldung, and Grünewald, they have in common a fundamental attitude toward experience, something which grew out of but was not contained in the Late Gothic viewpoint, and which later degenerated into mere imitation. (An example of such toadyism is afforded by the *Venus and Love* in the Nuremberg Museum by Hans von Aachen (1552-1615), in which the figure of Venus is taken bodily from Annibale Carracci's *Bacchante* in the Uffizi.) Actually the years of transition between Late Gothic and Renaissance of this pseudo-Italian sort saw the rise and fall of an intermediate style in Germany, one which was essentially national and original. This, says Wölfflin, is the true German Renaissance. It cannot be compared to the Italian Renaissance because as soon as comparisons are possible it is already past. At the same time, to think of this style as late or very late Gothic is simply confusing, so fundamentally is it new.

Never should we forget that at the time of Germany's first interest in things Italian, when the extravagances of Flamboyant were being soothed by the first breath of idealism—never should we forget that Germany's artists were producing precisely at that time the greatest masterpieces in her history. Hence one may infer that a strong national tendency was already deeply rooted, to regard the world in a manner less flamboyant, more orderly, more defined, more concretely ideal. Except for this, enthusiasm for Italian culture would have had no impetus.

To see the significance of this point one must have clearly in mind the nature of the Italian viewpoint and the contrasting nature of the German. This all-inclusive distinction consumes most of Wölfflin's book, and involves countless variations on the same theme. I shall cite a typical one.

When Germans travel to Italy the surroundings seem very different from those they have just left. The buildings are apparently organized in quite an arbitrary fashion. Arrangements are symmetrical, lines straight and pure, details have their own existence clearly defined while yet submitting to the imposed order. Columns have their own beauty, stories are distinctly marked, moldings can be enjoyed for themselves, extremities are bounded so that the spectator feels the proportional relationship of part to part, expanses of stone alternate with openings in unmistakable rhythm—and the building stands, complete in itself, an ideal made concrete, a symbol of the mind's power to organize.

Against this Italian attitude, illustrated by any good Early Renaissance structure, like the Palazzo del Consiglio at Padua, one might place a typical German building like the Freiburg Kaufhaus (completed in 1532). Instead of columns and pilasters on sharply defined pedestals we find pillars which disappear into the walls because there is nothing to show where they stop. Likewise they are without bases, and therefore seem equally inseparable from the ground, out of which they appear to rise. Ground, pillars, walls—all are of a single piece. No crisp archivolts indicate the load the pillars carry, nor the strain the arches are undergoing. The oriels spring out at the corners so naturally that they cannot be thought of by themselves. Ornament is not restricted to well-marked areas but sprayed over the surface spasmodically. The two stories instead of being cleanly set apart are slurred into one another by the balcony, the vertical lines of which keep it from suggesting any horizontal division. The only prevailing unity is a sense of homogeneous movement over the whole façade. It grows out of the earth with the ease and casualness of nature. It submits to no static ideal. If it seems somewhat unregulated, it at least makes the Italian building look arbitrary.

There are a great many more comparisons of this sort in the book, dealing with all forms of art. But the moral

of the story is in each case the same: the Italian mind runs in ideal channels, always imposing a formal, tectonic order on the facts of experience, creating ideally complete, artificially independent entities; whereas the German mind embraces the variety and *Werden* of existence, and produces things whose parts have no meaning at all except as contributing to the ebb and flow of the whole. Paintings and statues thus imply an environment of contemporary architecture, and buildings are as closely related to their natural surroundings. Riemenschneider's Adam (Würzburg) should be thought of as standing under a complicated canopy and on an intricate pedestal. Then the tangled mass of hair no longer seems exaggerated, and the fig leaf is less objectionable. The sense of movement contained in the church itself passes over the figure like an electric spark. For the spectator the chief interest in the body of the Adam is its fluctuation of surface, not its proportional relationships. The sharp linear silhouette is significant for its effect of movement, not for any description of masses. When the figure is not viewed from the front as it was meant to be, and this outline is consequently lost, it looks weak and shivering, because no sense of direction is any longer present.

The racial distinction is so great that Germany could never hope to become more than superficially Italianized. All German attempts to incorporate foreign elements resulted in something decidedly Northern for all its Latin veneer, yet not imitative, in the period under discussion, because the artists were great men, already possessors of a clear and consistent viewpoint. They saw the world with dispassionate idealism. They were less passionate than their predecessors and less ideal than their Italian contemporaries. Always they clung to the old Gothic principles of movement, of unity only from the viewpoint of the whole, of discarding tectonic organization in favor of asymmetry and the undisciplined. Even Dürer's drawing of Adam and Eve (Morgan Coll.), 1504, remains fairly German although it surrenders to the Italian viewpoint as completely as anything done in the forty years considered. It must have looked strange to Dürer's contemporaries with its figures so clearly set off from the background, and its evident preoccupations with form and proportional relationships. In German art it remains a noteworthy exception to the general rule, and even in the circle of Dürer's own works it is a most unusual phenomenon. Wölfflin fails to cite the specifically German residue: Eve's flying hair, the nervous twist of her right hand, Adam's tangled curls, and, above all, the intense psychological relationship. To do so would have strengthened his point, which is that German tradition was so strong that its salient characteristics could not be changed; but the point stands even without these considerations because the drawing is such a unique occurrence.

From this the argument runs very easily to show that the German Renaissance must be accounted for in German, not Italian, terms. If the Northern viewpoint was so articulate and so adamant as a thousand instances indicate it was despite the fascination of a smarter culture, then the change must have come from within. Dürer's absorption in things classic was the result and not the cause of his evolution. As the years went by German artists improved along many Italian lines, in distinguishing figures from background, in subduing compositions with

rule and order, in clarity of representation. A sense of composure in the individual figures, however, came much more slowly, and arrangements by symmetry and harmony almost never transpired.

Something like the foregoing is a fair *résumé* of what Wölfflin intended to do and how he accomplished his end. The limitations involved in his procedure come out only when one has wrestled with his ponderous argument and penetrated the maze of his words. In common with idealistic philosophy, which surely stands as most typical of the Germans' attempt to generalize on the mass of facts of which they are as a race so conscious, Wölfflin is lured by a repertory of universal concepts, created reasonably from facts, into dealing with the concepts alone, and in the course of this process the facts are quite lost from sight. *Etwas selbständiges-unselbständiges, das Unbegrenzte, das Zusammengeschweisste, Ineinandergedrängte der Massen*—phrases like these flit across the mind's eye like so many mystical symbols, each with its profound and imponderable meaning. One is inclined to indulge in the not unpleasant experience, until at last overbountiful repetition becomes monotonous and one is forced to realize that the words are words and little more. At this point Wölfflin usually injects a concrete example, but only to return to the accustomed flow of intangibles. One vastly respects his industry, but it becomes only too clear that in the last analysis he fails to connect concept with fact, universal with particular.

Anyone who has read the same author's *Renaissance und Barock* will recognize a familiar vocabulary in such terms as *das Unbegrenzte, das Unschaubar, die gesetzmässige Ordnung*. Indeed exactly the same concepts were there employed to set apart Italian Baroque and Italian Renaissance. In the final chapter Wölfflin states that the main difference between Italy in the Baroque period and Germany in the years 1490-1530 is one of degree. Perhaps on this ground one might excuse the fact that his interpretation of the Michaelskirche at Munich (a later building, to be sure, but treated in the usual manner as typically German) would apply equally well to Vignola's Gesù at Rome. One wants, however, a little more security in these matters. When in concluding Wölfflin remarks that there is something specifically German in German art at all times as against an equivalent Italian essence, one would like to know what it is, because in not knowing it one draws from his analysis (or lack thereof) the strange consequence that Italian Baroque is, at least from the standpoint of movement, actually more Germanic than Dürer, although at bottom somehow Italian after all!

In short, Wölfflin has not followed out the profounder implications of his thesis. What he has said is thoroughly valuable and, when related to concrete examples, extremely illuminating. But his generalizations characterize German art only in part, and since the omission leaves room for confusion with phases of Italian art itself, the thesis that Germany was culturally immaculate will hardly stand.

Unless I am mistaken this omission can be made specific and remedied. Wölfflin describes the art of the fatherland only negatively. It is *unbegrenzte, unschaubar*. It is not interested in form and proportion, symmetry and harmony, and so forth. Grünewald's Isenheim altarpiece at Colmar represents a Crucifixion in which the cross, contrary to

Italian practice, is not in the center, but decidedly to the right. Wölfflin's analysis stops here, with indicating that the underlying principles of the picture are not Italian. He fails to cite its positive virtues. All other things being equal, the asymmetry of the cross would certainly be a blemish. But the extreme contrast at the left between Mary's white robe and the surrounding dark compensates for it very precisely. Questions of aesthetic discrimination are, it is true, consciously avoided by the author. (At least one hopes it is consciously so, when to the same process of analysis and generalization are submitted the Isenheim altarpiece and the monstrous Frauenkirche at Munich.) Unfortunately the aesthetic side of the problem

cannot be avoided. Until we see not so much that the Isenheim Crucifixion is not symmetrical as that it is held together by an extraordinarily subtle occult balance, we shall fail to see wherein it is great art. In like manner the essential and positive principles underlying Germany's finest masterpieces will escape us. Not in the whole book is the Northern interest in detail sufficiently considered, nor the philosophy of realism from which it arises. Matters like these cannot be overlooked if we are to discover what is positive and essential in German art, what marks it off from Italian Baroque, what after all made possible the greatness of the years 1490-1530. In such considerations the Frauenkirche can have no part.

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